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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
OCTOBER, 1941

TAGORE'S CONCEPTION OF THE DESTINY OF MAN AND HIS MISSION IN LIFE

S. K MAITRA, M.A., PH.D.
Benares Hindu University.

THE death of Rabindranath Tagore has removed the greatest humanist of the present age. His humanism is enshrined in the very motto of his University, the Viswa-Bharati University: "यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीड़म्" The poet regarded it as of epic significance when man first crossed the boundary between race and race and realised his essential unity with all men. This realization he called 'the meeting' in his book *The Religion of Man* and was regarded by him as the most vital step forward in man's spiritual progress. Bergson also in his book *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* drew a fundamental distinction between nationalism and humanism. There is no passage, he said, between love of one's country and love of humanity. The former he called 'closed morality' and the latter 'open morality.' It is important to bear this distinction in mind, for in our excessive eagerness to call Tagore a patriot we must not forget that he was first and foremost a humanist.

Tagore had a very high conception of the destiny of man and his mission in life. Hence he was opposed to everything which in any way crippled him or reduced him to the position of an

automaton. This was the essence of his protest against the present mechanical and industrial civilization which ran through several of his writings and reached its climax in the plays *Waterfall* and *Red Oleanders*. The fault of our present mechanical civilization is that it does not treat man as man but looks upon him merely as an instrument for the realization of certain material ends. As he beautifully put it in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian," the conflict in our present civilization is between Jack, the human being, and the Giant, the gigantic soulless machinery, whose sole object is to crush the humanity in Jack. I have dealt with this aspect of his humanism in the paper which I contributed to the *Golden Book of Tagore*, under the title *Rabindranath and the Philosophy of Personality*, and I do not want to dwell on it further here. I would only like to say that the danger which the poet pointed out fifteen years ago is much greater to-day, when nearly one-half of our globe is thrown into a terrible conflagration, the like of which has never been witnessed before.

But it is not merely industrial civilization that tries to crush our humanity but all social and religious institutions that insist upon the observance of outer forms and symbols that have now lost all their meaning and act merely as impediments to the growth of the human soul. This is what Tagore pointed out with such crushing effect in his play *Achalayatan*. The play was misunderstood, and people unnecessarily took offence where no offence was meant. The poet's object was simply to show that religious practices existed for man and not man for them, and that consequently, if they failed to stimulate man's spiritual life, they lost their right to exist.

Religion, therefore, for Tagore is religion for man. In his book *The Religion of Man* he made this point very clear. In a remarkably fine passage of that book he said (*vide* pp. 113-14): "This is the infinite of human personality where man finds his religion. Science may include in its field of knowledge the starry world and the world beyond it; philosophy may try to find some universal principle which is at the root of things, but religion inevitably concentrates itself on humanity, which illumines our reason, inspires our wisdom, stimulates our love, claims our intelligent service. There is an impersonal idea, which we call law, discoverable by an impersonal logic in its pursuit of the fathomless depths of the hydrogen atom and the distant virgin worlds clothed in eddying fire. But as the physiology

of the beloved is not our beloved, so this impersonal law is not our God, the *pitṛtamaḥ pitṛnām*, the Father who is ultimate in all fathers and mothers ; of him we cannot say, 'तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया.' For this can only be relevant to the God who is God and Man at the same time ; and if this faith be blamed for being anthropomorphic, then Man is to be blamed for being Man, and the lover for loving his dear one as a person, instead of as a principle of psychology. We can never go beyond Man in all that we know and feel."

For the same reason he was not in favour of any yogic practices by which the Individual Self could be merged in the Universal Self. Such a thing might be valuable, he said, as a psychological experience, but it was not religion, " even as the knowledge of the ultimate state of the atom is of no use to an artist who deals in images in which atoms have taken forms " (*Religion of Man*, pp. 117-18).

From all this it follows that, in the poet's view, if religion is to fulfil its mission, it must help man to realize the whole of his personality. This idea he expressed in one of the essays in his book *Dharma*, where he said, " Our Dharma is not a portion of human nature ; it is not divorced from politics, separated from war, cut off from business, disscciated from daily conduct." Either religion has this all-pervasive character or it is nothing.

It is the privilege of man to know no limits to his expansion. " The most human of all facts about us," said our poet, " is that we do dream of the limitless unattained. Of all creatures man lives in an endless future." The whole tragedy of his life consists in his unfulfilled desires, unrealized hopes constantly striving to obtain fulfilment, to seek realization. This tragedy is depicted exquisitely in one of the poems of his book *Balaka* :

Man's million viewless thoughts and phantasies,
Desires that never cease,
Are lured by Things, whose beauty is their pride,
To be their playmates by their side.
Dreams darkly seek with ardent wings
To voyage to the realm of Things ;
Borne by obscurity's stream profound
They seek with all their might to grasp the ground,
With grip of stock and stone to stand
Awhile on solid land.

It is these unexpressed desires constantly demanding fulfilment which supply the dynamic element in man's continual progress. His progress, therefore, rests upon a fundamental tragedy, the tragedy of having to harbour innumerable unfulfilled desires and longings.

Other creatures receive gifts from God. Man is the only creature whom God honours by receiving gifts from him. Man gives back more than he receives:

> Thou hast given the bird the song with which the woodlands ring ;
> He gives no more to thee.
> My voice hath been thy only gift to me ;
> I give thee more—I sing.
>
> (*Balaka*)

This is the secret of man's creative power. He, therefore, resents too much spoon-feeding.

He must not be overburdened with the weight of the past, for he has an infinite rôle to play in the future. He has infinite possibilities in him which he should be allowed to develop freely but which he cannot develop, if he is tied down too much to the past. We have, however, in our country, unfortunately, too much adoration of the past. As the poet said, "We Indians have had the sad experience in our part of the world how timid orthodoxy, its irrational repressions and its accumulation of dead centuries, dwarfs man through its idolatry of the past. Seated rigid in the centre of stagnation, it firmly ties the human spirit to the revolving wheels of habit till faintness overwhelms her" (*Religion of Man*, p. 120). It is a mistake to suppose that this adoration of the past leads to the growth of man's spiritual life ; on the other hand, as the poet happily puts it, "it is blindly pious but not spiritual."

Man is more truly man when he is a dreamer, for then no crippling sense of limitation fetters him. For this reason Tagore quoted approvingly the words of a poet: "We are the music-makers, we are the dreamers of dreams."

Likewise man truly realizes his essence when he passes from the realm of facts to that of values. And of all the values, the greatest in the poet's view was music. He believed that music had the power of raising man above all pettiness and narrowness and bringing

him into contact with the Infinite. Thus, in a very fine poem in the *Gitanjali* he said:

I know thou takest pleasure in my singing.
I know that only as a singer I come before thy presence.
I touch by the edge of the far-spreading wing of my song
Thy feet which I could never aspire to reach.
Drunk with the joy of singing I forget myself
And call thee friend who art my lord.

Indeed, man's fulfilment consists in breaking the bounds of his private self and bringing himself into contact with the All. Thus the poet asked:

आमार एकला घरेर आड़ाल भेङे
बिशाल भवे
प्राणेर रथे बाहिर ह'ते
पारब कबे ?

'When shall I break the walls of my private chamber and come out into the wide world, riding the chariot of life ?'

(*Gitanjali*)

This is one aspect of the matter. But there is another. Just as man raises himself to the level of God through communion with Him, so God chooses to manifest Himself through man. Rather it is because God chooses to make man the vehicle of his expression, that man can bring himself into contact with God. This is the meaning of his conception of Jivan Devata or Life Spirit, which is Tagore's principle of Evolution. All life, all process is spiritual, for it is the expression of the Jivan Devata. Evolution means nothing else than the manifestation of the Infinite Spirit in the Finite. The root idea of this is beautifully expressed in a poem in the *Gitanjali*:

सीमार माझे, असीम, तुमि
बाजाओ आपन सुर।
आमार मध्ये तोमार प्रकाश
ताइ एत मधुर।

'Thou soundest thy note, O Infinite, in the Finite. That is why thy manifestation in me is so sweet.'

The same idea is also expressed in his poem *Jivan-Devata* in his book *Chitra*:

ओहे अन्तरतम,
मिटेछे कि तव सकल तियास
आसि अन्तरे मम ?
.....
आपनि बरिया ल'येछिले मोरे
ना जानि किसेर आशे
लेगेछे कि भालो हे जीवननाथ,
आमार रजनी आमार प्रभात,
आमार नर्म्म, आमार कर्म्म
तोमार विजन वासे ?

'O Innermost Spirit, hast thou fully quenched thy thirst by dwelling within me ? .....Thou chosest me thyself, I do not know with what expectation. Hast thou been pleased, O Lord, of my life, with my night, my morning, my sport, my work in thy lone abode ?'

This conception of Evolution runs through the whole of his writings. Evolution for Tagore is not a blind mechanical adjustment to fixed surroundings but a continuous march towards higher and higher creative self-expression. There is thus a good deal of similarity between his conception of Evolution and that of Bergson.

His different writings dealt with this creative urge in its different aspects. Thus in *Balaka* his object was to show the creative urge in its pure form, as a limitless force breaking all bounds. In *The Cycle of Spring* he exhibited it as the deathless spirit fighting against decrepitude and death, the play ending with a triumphal note indicating the victory of the Spirit in its struggle with Death:

April is awake.
Life's shoreless sea
Is heaving in the sun before you.
All the losses are lost,
And death is drowned in its waves.
Plunge into the deep without fear,
With the gladness of April in your heart.

In the *Waterfall* the conflict becomes definitely one between life and mechanism. The engineer Vibhuti wanted to curb the flow of the river by erecting embankments, but the people destroyed the embankments and allowed the river to flow freely. Vibhuti had to bow before the Spirit of Life: mechanism had to retreat before the triumphant march of the vital spirit. But it is in the *Red Oleanders*

that the struggle becomes most acute. Here the struggle is distinctly one between personality and machine. But here, too, the poet has struck a distinctly optimistic note. As I have said elsewhere,[1] "it is significant that the poet believes that in the heart of mechanism there is installed a power that can emancipate us from mechanism. He has compared mechanism to a tired mountain. There is a trepidation within, a slowly moving process of disintegration, as a result of which the gigantic mountain will gradually crumble down and slip into the valley. This is how Personality will reassert itself. Mechanism, therefore, is a temporary eclipse of Personality and will disappear before the incoming tide of Personality."

This optimism is the most distinguishing feature of Tagore's philosophy. He never for a moment had any misgivings about man's ultimate destiny. In his famous address on *The Crisis of Civilization* which he delivered recently on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, although he pointed out how gloomy things were at the present moment, he did not look upon the present conditions as anything but a passing phase. For he said: "As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage."

But that man might fulfil his destiny, it was necessary, the poet thought, that he should come out of his private individuality into the wide world, sharing its joys and its sorrows, its hopes and its disappointments in a spirit of pure love. This is why he said in a poem in his book *Naivedya*:

वैराग्य साधने मुक्ति से आमार नय।
असंख्य बन्धन-माझे महानन्दमय
लभिब मुक्तिर स्वाद।

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight."

[1] *Vide* my article *Rabindranath and the Philosophy of Personality* in *The Golden Book of Tagore.*

He expressed the same thought in a poem in his book *Sonar Tari* (Golden Boat)

विश्व यदि च'ले याय काँदिते काँदिते,
आमि एका बसे रब मुक्ति-समाधिते ?

" How can I remain alone in my *Samadhi* seeking salvation, when the whole world marches past me weeping ?

In another poem of the same book he said :

होक् खेला, ए खेलाय योग दिते हबे
आनन्द कल्लोलाकुल निखिलेर सने ।

" Granted that this world is a play, we have to join in this play with the whole universe resonant with joy."

It is the realization of this truth that, as the poet explained in his book *The Religion of Man,* compelled him to come out of his seclusion and seek to realize God through service of man. " I am sure," he explained in this book (*vide* pp. 165-66), " that it was this idea of the divine Humanity unconsciously working in my mind, which compelled me to come out of the seclusion of my literary career and take my part in the world of practical activities. The solitary enjoyment of the infinite in meditation no longer satisfied me, and the texts which I used for my silent worship lost their inspiration without my knowing it. I am sure I vaguely felt that my need was spiritual self-realization in the life of Man through some disinterested service."

It is a necessary consequence of the poet's view of man's essential solidarity with the whole of mankind, nay with the whole universe, that he did not value that freedom which consisted in mere independence or isolation. He felt that it was only in the realization of our complete unity with the rest of existence that we could become free. Freedom in this sense meant a kind of bondage, for it meant the realization of the essential interrelatedness of the universe. It was for this reason that the poet said in his *Religion of Man*: " Absolute independence is the blankness of utter servility."

This idea he worked out beautifully in the sermons *Freedom in the World and Freedom in Society* (*Santiniketan* Fourth Series). In the former essay he says, " Therefore, success is not through freedom alone. More ultimate than freedom is dependence. Just as earning becomes complete through charity, so it is through dependence that

freedom consummates itself." This idea he makes still more explicit in the sermon *Freedom in Society*. There he says, "If I say man wants freedom, I shall be telling a lie. Much more than freedom he wants bondage. He is crying to be in bondage to that which will cause him endless bondage. He says, 'O thou Supreme Love, thou art in bondage to me, when shall I be in bondage to thee? When will there be a perfect unity between bondage and bondage? Where I am arrogant, proud, independent, there I am diseased, I am futile. O Lord, save me by putting me in bondage, by making me humble. So long as I knew this as an ultimate truth that I was only myself, that there was no other 'I' than that, how fruitless were my wanderings! I was killed by the load of my riches and my mind. When my dream vanishes and I understand that my supreme 'I' is Thyself, and that my 'I' exists only by virtue of that, then I attain freedom in a moment.' But this is not merely the attainment of freedom. It brings with it absolute dependence. It is the supreme joy of the surrender of all I-consciousness to the Supreme 'I'."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

DR. M. M. BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., PH.D.
Calcutta University

DEATH has removed from the world of literature and humanism the greatest of the moderns. He has not passed away prematurely or unexpectedly. None of the towering literary figures of Bengal has in recent times been blessed with so long a life as he. Ram Mohan Roy died in his sixtieth year, Michael Madhusudan Dutt in his fiftieth and Vidyasagar in his seventy-first year, while Bankim Chandra passed away at the age of fifty-six, Girish Chandra at the age of sixty-eight and Nabin Chandra at the age of sixty-two. It may be suggested that climate and racial characteristics stand in the way of longevity in our country. But—to refer to England—Chaucer passed away when he was only sixty, the sage poet Spenser when he was forty-six, Shakespeare at the comparatively early age of fifty-two and Milton in his sixty-sixth year. Byron, Shelley (with whom Rabindranath has sometimes been compared) and Keats, as is well known, died very early. But Shelley was drowned, and the cases of the other two may be regarded as exceptional. Browning lived up to 77 and Wordsworth up to 80, and only Tennyson and Hardy (leaving out Shaw) surpassed Rabindranath in longevity as did the incomparable Goethe. Petrarch passed away when 70 years old, and Dante when only 56. Rabindranath can thus very well be said to have been blessed with a remarkably long life. This does not, of course, lessen the poignancy of the grief which India and the world feel at the passing away of the poet laureate of Asia.

Rabindranath was born of a long-lived family, and his father was 87 when he expired in 1905, while many of his near relatives have been octogenarians. But longevity is not the only gift with which heredity blessed him. His culture, taste, outlook and spiritual bent were largely derived from family traditions. He was the best representative of a most distinguished family which shed its lustre over Bengal and influenced its life and culture for years. This in no way detracts from the inestimable value of his own achievements. A great man is most indebted to others.

Rabindranath's activities and interests have been manifold. Some of them date back to his boyhood or early youth, while others are of later origin. He developed his musical powers and his histrionic talents while yet in his teens. There was a time when people crowded in their thousands into the hall where Rabindranath was singing. Throughout his life—even when his own powers failed him—he retained his love of music, which sustained him largely in his last days. Patriotism must have been innate with him, and his sympathy for the political aspirations of modern India was manifest in his early youth. A group photo of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Nalinbehari Sarker, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh and Rabindranath taken after its first session in 1885 is interesting in this connection. Patriotism as a profound urge of the soul inspired many of his poems, while interest in current political movements prompted some of his thoughtful essays, and led him to preside over a session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, to address political meetings and finally to renounce his knighthood. Development of India's resources and promotion of indigenous industries were dear to his heart, and *Swadeshi* had in him one of its ardent champions He visited England first when he was only 16 or 17, and since then he has travelled extensively in India and abroad. Different countries of Europe, America, China, Japan and Malaya have had the privilege of receiving him as an honoured guest, and it seems as if he had a sort of wanderlust. Though not an *alumnus* of any University, Rabindranath has always been keen as a student. He hated routine work, and his life at school was not happy, but he was carefully educated at home. He assimilated what he read, but he has not borrowed and does not reproduce, so that no verbal trace of his learning is to be found in his own composition. Rabindranath has been—and yet is—largely known in the West as a lecturer. He has been invited to deliver courses of lectures, especially on topics bearing on Indian culture before learned associations and Universities in Europe and America, and has been admired for his breadth of outlook and profound wisdom. He was the first Indian to deliver the Hibbert Lectures. But he has nowhere followed the stereotyped method of scholarship. In later life he interested himself in Philology, though he himself says that the study of language has always had a natural fascination for him. His published writings on the subject

reveal a scientific spirit, which seems to be in conflict with poetic imagination. Journalism attracted him early in life, as it did many other members of the Tagore family. He has been an able editor and a regular contributor to many struggling journals. The early history of Bengali Literature excited his curiosty, and he was long associated with the Academy of Bengali Literature (*Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*) which is concerned with the collection, preservation and editing of old manuscripts and documents likely to throw light on this obscure subject. The poet tried his hand at painting in rather advanced age, and success amply rewarded his efforts as it has always done. Recognition was indeed slow, for originality, unsupported by popular tradition, rarely commands ready admiration. An exhibition of Tagore's paintings in Paris demonstrated the value of his contribution to the art. Rabindranath was appointed a Professor of Bengali by the University of Calcutta when he was over seventy. Higher education has gained immensely from his association with the Post-Graduate Department of studies and research, and his mother tongue which he has enriched so much, owes to it, in no small measure, its present popularity and prestige in our academic sphere. Rabindranath's translations of his own works into English, illustrate one more aspect of his literary genius. They have definitely established his reputation as a writer of English. But the most outstanding feature of his personality was his deeply spiritual nature which was fostered by a religious temperament derived undoubtedly from his saintly father.

The list is not exhaustive, but it sufficiently indicates the vast range of his interests and activities. It shows his breadth of sympathy, his vast energy and the spaciousness of his intellect—in a word, his versatile genius. Here Rabindranath is possibly unique, and it is difficult to name a poet who can approach him on this eminence. Poets are generally men of delicate sensibility, retiring, averse to action and devoted to their work in seclusion. A poet focussing in himself almost all the cultural movements of his country and stimulating its political and national consciousness—functioning as an apostle of patriotism and humanism, a beacon to the two hemispheres and a champion of international good-will, holding out the anodyne to "the sick hurry and divided aims" of modern life,—is certainly a rare phenomenon. And he is the product of a country that has been without the blessing of independence for centuries!

It would be interesting to compare Rabindranath and a few other literary giants from this point of view. Allowances will, of course, have to be made for the difference of circumstances under which they lived in different countries and at different times. Shakespeare was the son of a trader who was of the farmer class, and was born away from centres of culture. His grammar school education might not have been negligible in his time, but his professional activities in London seem to have been engrossing and appear to have left him no time for any other interest. In spite of his apparent knowledge of the topography of northern Italy, it is generally believed that he had not the advantage of foreign travel: whatever might be said of his imagination, he was himself insular and not international. 'Myriad-minded' as he was, he took in what was in the air, and possibly came in touch with notabilities in the royal court. But his position precluded the possibility of his being an inspirer of educational reform or spiritual uplift. Certainly he was not an attractive personality in Elizabethan England. But everything concerning him is shrouded in mystery, and it is undesirable to discuss an almost legendary figure. Milton was, to his contemporaries, a more towering personality. His interests were not confined to creative work alone. He had travelled on the continent, though not very extensively, and come in touch with distinguished foreigners. He was a lover of learning and music, but engaged himself vigorously in the defence of liberty—civil as well as political. Controversy embittered his spirit, and blindness, want and detraction had their effect on his noble soul, making him intolerant, harsh and sectarian. His view of women was ungenerous and his attitude to enemies unrelenting. We look in vain in him for that catholicity, charity and fine spiritualism we associate with Rabindranath. Milton was a hero, while Rabindranath was a prophet of humanity. Repulsed by the excesses of the French Revolution, Wordsworth almost renounced the world. The history of his life is primarily intellectual, and a solitary valley was his home for half a century, where he enjoyed the occasional company of his friends and heard the voice of Nature. He was out of touch with national life, not to speak of international matters. He had travelled for brief periods in France and Germany, but had hardly come in contact with French or German life. His tastes were austere, and music and painting do not seem to have interested him as they inspired Rabindranath, nor was he a representative figure like the latter, guiding

others in various spheres of intellectual activity. Byron's personality, as distinguished from his poetry, is said to have attracted the admiration of Goethe. When Byron became the champion of Greek liberty, he was indeed the cynosure of every eye in Europe. But his spirit of rebellion against social conventions that inspired his poetry, gave him a notoriety which compelled him to live almost in exile.

Byron's early surroundings were unfortunate, and his morbid susceptibility created a further barrier between him and his countrymen. Higher life did not attract him, and he could not possibly represent the best that was in England. Shelley and Keats died too early, and it would be unfair to compare their personalities with that of Tagore. Tennyson was a representative of Victorian England alone, and had hardly any wide sympathy. His interests were restricted, and he was not very anxious to know the thoughts and ideals of other peoples. He did not travel extensively as did Browning who visited Russia and Italy and was attracted by the spirit of the Renaissance. Browning's love of Hellenic poetry reveals the breadth of his sympathy and his scholarship which, however, do not approach those of Tagore, in spite of his depth of insight and his dramatic talent. But Browning was too engrossed in his work to feel the pulsation of the broader life of his countrymen. Shaw is a powerful writer whose versatility is recognised in Europe as much as in America. He is quite at home in many subjects, and has inspired fresh tendencies in literature, politics and social criticism. He has travelled widely, and has been a journalist as well as a propagandist. The theatre has claimed a large share of his time and energy. A caricaturist and pugnacious preacher of his own views, he has none of the subtler qualities of mind and heart and none of that spirituality which have endeared Tagore to the whole world.

Dante was the great poet of Mediæval Catholicism and his *Divine Comedy* is said to have been an epitome of its theology. But the political disturbances of his time had their effect on his life and outlook. Internecine struggle and consequent banishment from his native city embittered his spirit, and he wasted a large part of his life in vain efforts to return to Florence. There was little opportunity for him of pursuing other interests besides poetry and politics. Silent spiritual contemplation, humanistic studies and selfless work for the good of man, such as are associated with the career of Tagore, are not to be thought of in connection with Dante. Petrarch was a

herald of the Renaissance, a poet of love and an educationist who wanted to revive the old Roman system. He approaches Tagore more closely in some respects, but he is lacking in his skill in music, painting, etc., and his internationalism.

However versatile the personality of Rabindranath, however catholic his interests and tastes, literature was his special province. His literary greatness is supreme. Here we are struck by the variety of his work. He has tried his hand at every species of literary composition, and success has been his everywhere. There is not one that does not bear testimony to his consummate judgment and great abilities. He is a master alike of prose and verse, and has written songs, poems, novels, short stories, plays and playlets, comic sketches, essays, literary criticisms, philosophical discourses, and philological disquisitions. There are few writers—modern or ancient —who can claim this variety for their literary output. Shakespeare wrote only a few sonnets and longer poems besides his plays; Milton wrote a few prose treatises besides the well-known poems, his drama and his masque. Wordsworth's critical work and *The Borderers* do not fill more than a few pages. Shelley's dramas are lyrical and are not distinguishable from his poems. *A Defence of Poetry*, the other prose pieces and the translations are meagre, whatever their quality. Byron has written satires, dramas and poems, but he was incapable of other species of composition, especially of criticism. Keats died when he way only 26, and may be passed over in silence. Tennyson and Browning have both steered clear of prose. Hardy has greater variety, but he is pre-eminently a novelist. Shaw is not a poet, while his dramas are mostly caricatures, and his prose is mostly characterised by the propagandist note. Dante is more massive than Petrarch and is also a more versatile writer, but none is comparable to Tagore. Possibly Goethe furnishes a parallel to him in this respect.

Age has brought to many great men weakness, pessimism and disillusionment. It is a wonder how Rabindranath's evergreen heart, spacious intellect and splendid creative power defied the ravages of time even when he was past four score years, and how through life's vicissitudes and dark days he had kept undimmed his faith in the future of his country and in the destiny of humanity. In these days of strife and clash of arms the world stands—more than ever —in need of the healing power of the new values he was still expected to create for years to come.

A NEW PHASE IN RABINDRANATH'S POETRY

DR. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

THE Bengali year 1347—(14th April, 1940 to 13th April, 1941)—has been, judged by his own standard of productivity, one of Rabindranath's major periods of literary expression. During his eightieth year have been published five volumes of verse, an autobiographical book of prose, a collection of three fairly long short stories, and a book of stories and verse for children. This does not include numerous literary letters, short prose articles, and sermons and addresses some of which constitute his most important utterances during the last few months. Then again, a unique collection of verse impends: I refer to richly diverse poetry written in the folk-lore style, many of them fairly long; poems which include stories, fragments of dream-like pictures, fantasia, rural landscape, visions of the past, and satirical-comedic pieces—all of them containing startling surprises in rhyme and musical innovation. Also, there has been a series of "autographical" verses composed, most often orally, to propitiate very young "hunters," or merely to enliven the hour; these range from grave to gay, from the limerick to tough epigrammatic couplets.

Here are the names of this year's books and the dates of publication:

1. *Naba Jatak* (New Birth)—Vaisakh, 1347.
2. *Sanai* (The Flute)—Ashar, 1347.
3. *Chhele-bela* (Childhood)—Bhadra, 1347.
4. *Tin-Sangi* (Three Companions)—Pous, 1347.
5. *Rog-Shajyay* (In the Sick-bed)—Pous, 1347.
6. *Arogya* (Recovery)—Falgun, 1347.
7. *Janmadine* (On the Birthday)—Vaisakh, 1348.
8. *Galpa Salpa* (Yarns)—Vaisakh, 1348.

Adequate discussion of this great period—one of the greatest in Rabindranath's literary life—is not possible here: the reader's attention

has been drawn to the power, plenitude and diversity of his productions. But this year does not testify merely to an unwaning creative vitality, but to a wholly new level of inspiration and outlook in Rabindranath's work which separates this epoch from earlier ones.

Sanai, in a sense, provides a link between different periods; it contains songs, colourful poems of nature's loveliness, and even where social and political experience is touched upon, the music of the *Sanai* blows across the mind, full of reminiscence, and a lyrical freshness which urgent events leave unclouded. This book will cast wistful charm on our thoughts and feelings, suddenly taking us to the depths, and thus belongs to the tradition of *Kshanika*, *Puravi* and *Mahua*. All the poems are in rhyme excepting *Byathita* (page 19) which is cast in the mould of a song, and *Basabadal* and *Parichaya* (pages 43, 56) both of which are stories in free verse.

Nava-Jatak strikes a sterner note, is charged with topical significance and is illustrative of that kind of realism in which great vision is applied to details of world's life, in order to reveal the pattern of an age. Here are poems on modern Europe, Japan, on old Hindusthan and Rajputana, while the abuse of religion, social frustration, bitter nationalism, the nature of the romantic and the classical in Art . . . are among the subjects touched upon. There are poems dealing with the implications of new astronomy, studies in the subconscious, dream-like delineation of the poetry of such "civilised machinery" as the railway train. Through the whole book rings a clear affirmation of the spirit of the New Age, however crude and falsifying it might now appear to be, and these poems offer a challenge to that spirit not to betray itself in aggressive frustration but to take up the task of future humanity. It is, in a lyrical way, an epic of the modern age, concerned with its trials and triumphs but mainly with a vast world-wide tribulation. The philosophy of *Nava-Jatak* is akin to that suggested by certain interpreters of the Cosmic Ray—there is a process of dissolution in history but silently, inevitably, and ceaselessly human reality is being built up by an ever-reactive power of recovery and integration. Man's religion is to discover this creative principle and to strengthen it: therein lies the hope of civilisation. Only one poem—*Ratri* (page 88) is written in free verse style.

Naba-Jatak and *Sanai*, though published separately, on dates referred to above, contain poems written during the last two or three years; that is to say, they cover the same chronological ground. But

the persistent moods of lyricism and of deep pre-occupation with modern problems can be discerned as characteristic trends justifying the collection of verse under separate covers. In both books, moreover, newly written poems were added just before publication which strengthen and confirm the two dominant creative impulses that we have discussed.

The philosophy of rebirth and recovery finds intense personal corroboration, based on intimate and tragic experience, in the two volumes of poetry which followed closely upon each other three months after the publication of *Sanai*. *Rog-Shajyay* and *Arogya* are the products of grave illness which, as we know, overtook the poet during the last year. The books run into each other, being a development, both technically and poetically, which derives directly from long periods of concentrated experience during illness. A new reticence, (the poems are often limited to a few lines of free verse) and even the modernist arrangement of linear spacing, harmonise not only with necessary conservation of energy but with the positive aspect of intensity which would fuse a whole range of colours into a beam of white light, No finer coalescence could be found between subject and significant form ; it is often forgotten that dimension in art has strict relevance to creative expression and is not, contrary to popular criticism, a mere technical detail. These two books will continue to engage the serious attention of creative craftsmen, in the realm of literature and also outside ; the psychological interest of Rabindranath's new poems will, moreover, demand fresh critical standards. Periods of pain, sleepless vigil, premonitions of death, convalescence, moods, sombre and serene, flit across the poet's inner and outer world, finding shape in measured verse written in sudden if short spells of activity.

Rog-Shajyay, as its name implies, deals with the sick-bed, and in the poems occur almost unself-conscious references to the world-wide disease which civilisation has entered upon—here and there through a break is wafted blue air and light or a glimpse of life's beauty. The atmosphere is never oppressive; the pain of suffering humanity is silhouetted against a faith which can yet look upon the human scene with detachment—this prerogative, it seems, man never quite surrenders.

In *Arogya*, the joy of a fresh access to well-being is given further expression. The dawn breaks ; stars of yesternight disappear in the horizon newly flushed with gold; humanity's heart awakes; the

divinity of common things is revealed. Illumined reason applied to world's affairs leads to recovery; freedom from materialism and from the false spirituality of escapists is achieved through inward research which is also harnessed to service of the world. The full force of Rabindranath's sanity beats upon our daily work releasing immense prospects of achievement. I would here refer to his address "Recovery," published in the *Modern Review* last year, for an exposition of the poet's recent philosophy as applied to concrete events.

Janmadine, the book of poems which came out last, deals not only with the poet's own birthday—which was celebrated all over India and which held for him an almost non-personal and symbolic meaning—but also with the ever-recurring birthday of humanity itself. *Janmadine* is the slendermost volume of the series—containing only 29 pieces, most of them very short and in free verse—but in it will be found some of the greatest poems that Rabindranath has written. An outstanding example is the already famous poem "*Bipula e Prithvi*" (English translation published recently in the *Modern Review* under the title "*The Great Symphony*" which appears as the tenth poem of this book and was written on the 21st January, 1941). The mystery of death's horizon which is also that of life, changing in colour and distance according to light and vision, and the earth's varied landscape which adds significance to the unknown, are painted with a wealth of beautiful detail and a never-failing sense of the ultimate. A faint nostalgia for what is yet to come touches many of the poems and there is an atmosphere of meeting and parting connected with a friendly universe. Life hereafter is a constant theme but it occurs as part of the texture, along with life, of existence itself and of its revolving birthdays. Earth sets a stage—in Yeats' words—for "The Dancer and his Dance."

To English readers I would recommend the newly published translation of *Chhele-Bela*, which appeared serially in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* and is now available in book-form with illustrations. This translation gives an excellent idea of the charm and lucidity which have gone to the making of this delightful book of memories. The Bengali original is startling in its innovation of linguistic simplicity—a kind of basic Bengali which is not a reduction of thought and expression to an elementary level but a raising of both to perfect utterance. For another kind of enrichment in prose, we have to open the pages of *Tin Sangi*; this book of stories which has not yet been

translated into English, contains wit, eloquence and argument put in terse intellectual prose which also is an extension, in that line, upon anything we have known in the Bengali language. The stories are modern, concerned with an accelerated phase of social re-adjustment, and are more 'realistic' in the current sense than any other stories written by Rabindranath—especially so "*The Laboratory*," which is a new experiment. Dialogue and brilliant observation reveal deep under-currents of psychological event which flow parallel to the drama of action—that book carries on the story-world of *Dui Bon* (*Two Sisters*) to a further stage in depicting the new modernity of Bengal and in fresh innovations of technique.

Galpa-Salpa came out on the poet's birthday; the initiated will not have to be told that as with his other stories for children, these gifts of the season will be no less appreciated by the old-in-years. Yarns in verse and prose alternate; sparkling mischief and gracious, insinuating wisdom appear in irresistible form, filled with the poetry of life. These stories will win their way to the heart of Bengal no less by the sheer power of story-telling.

This was Rabindranath at 80—an age which neither Dante nor Shakespeare attained and which found Goethe active in thought but no longer so as a poet. Sophocles lived up to 91 and is reported to have maintained his gifts but we do not know details. In fact, history does not show a single parallel to creativeness of the kind we have been discussing. The poet of the *Ishopanishad* has referred to a hundred years, dedicated to creative work, as the span of fully normal existence. He must have built his conception on great experience. In Rabindranath's work we found confirmation in a far-continuing unfoldment of the secret of eternal youth.[1]

[1] This article on Rabindranath's last phase, which is reprinted with the permission of the author, may help towards proper understanding of the poet's final outlook on life.—*Ed. C. R.*

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WILLIAM WORDSWORTH IN RETROSPECT

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A., B.E.S.

I

"LITERATURE," says Professor Dowden, "is more than an interpretation of external nature and of human life; it is a revelation of the widening possibilities of human life, of finer modes of feeling, dawning hopes, new horizons of thought, a broadening faith and unimagined ideals." [1] This is exactly what has been achieved by Wordsworth in a remarkable measure. He is a poet whose psychological and metaphysical observations are so blended with all that is good in poetry, that the reader is left enchanted by the wealth of philosophical thought compressed into an imaginative work of art. He is not only attentive to the reports of the senses, and remarkably interested in the accurate observation of things as they are in themselves, but looks upon them in their ultimate and largest relations and enters directly into the deepest mysteries of being. Political and social problems confronting the age, incidents of everyday life and nature that surrounded him, are approached by him in the "light of moral and spiritual principles." On an ordinary landscape or in a simple story he could cast a gleam of the spiritual world beyond, and with the power of his "interpenetrating energy of mind," he could perceive "the ideal in the real, the spiritual in the sensuous." [2] In this way he has given us in his poems "a religious philosophy," not as theories but as a moving experience of life that impressed itself indelibly upon his highly sensitive and tenacious nature, and built up his mind and character.

This is the special philosophical note that permeates all the poems of Wordsworth. It is not the sudden effervescence of an idealistic, brooding mind, but the fruit of a steady mental growth passing through various phases, as it came under various influences. These influences were in the form of men and movements—men such as Rousseau, Godwin, Coleridge and Hartley; movements such as

[1] E. Dowden, *Transcript and Studies*, p. 239.
[2] S. F. Gingerich, *Essays in the Romantic Poets*, p. 91.

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the French Revolution and the Transcendental Movement in Germany. When we assert this we do not mean to account for his philosophy as having been borrowed wholesale from the thought movement of the time, English or Foreign. He was of too independent a spirit to subscribe to it as a slavish imitator unless he could feel it as a part of his own experience. With this end in view he very often submits his thoughts to strictest analysis, which has made Mr. Pierce complain of the poems being " a record of his laboratory researches." [1] It is to the credit of Wordsworth that he has been the only poet who took much pains to examine the validity of knowledge by laying bare the workings of his mind, to trace to their source the primary laws of human nature that help man to form moral and spiritual judgments, and to bring to bear all his knowledge and experience to make man understand the total meaning of life. Yet he stands out pre-eminently not as a theologian or a philosopher, but as a poet. Instead of the " harshness and bareness of scientific report ", that Mr. Pierce finds in many of the poems, we agree with the majority of the critics who find there the transcript of personal experience presented in a simple and direct manner without the aid of psychological or philosophical terminology and without indulging in logical argumentation. Nature speaks to us everywhere, both within and without us, and her messages are conveyed to us in a series of pictures that exhibit great artistic skill. He bases his intuitive beliefs, wrongly termed theories, upon the elemental facts of real life, speaks to us of things that we plainly see, of facts that we intimately know, but in the act of presentation he takes us, in the most natural way, to the realm beyond our immediate consciousness, the relam of which every individual becomes conscious at some rare " god-like hour " of his life. And in this way he sought to

> " . . . arouse the sensual from their sleep
> Of death, and win the vacant and the vain
> To noble raptures."

The Prelude as the poet repeatedly insists, is a " philosophical poem," and the arrangement of ideas in most of his poems clearly implies a system of philosophy, yet there are critics and reviewers of Wordsworth who refuse to trace in his writings any systematised

[1] F. E. Pierce, *Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation*, p. 314.

metaphysical theory. Such an effort, in their opinion, would be sacrilegious and would do harm to Wordsworth as a poet. Arnold is the leader of this school of critics, and the attitude has been attributed by Professor Bradley to Arnold's own lack of philosophic turn of mind. "Even in the poetic sphere," says Bardley, "he was somewhat deficient in that kind of imagination which is allied to metaphysical thought." [1] Speaking of this aspect of Wordswcrth's poetry, Bradley is of opinion that to neglect it or throw it into the shade "is neither to take Wordsworth as he really was, nor to judge his poetry truly, since this aspect appears in much of it that we cannot deny to be first-rate." [2] Refusing for himself to formulate the mystic "utterances of the poet into a body of doctrines," he is, however, of opinion that "such a formulation is useful, . . . as one method of exploring Wordsworth's mind with a view to the better apprehension of his poetry." Professor Beatty seems to have taken the cue from this suggestion and has adopted it as his method of approach. He, however, restricts his attention to the influence of the English philosophers alone. To him, "the poet is in the direct line of succession to the inheritance of their thought—an heir who found his ancestral city one of brick and left it marble." [3] There is much to be conceded to him in the claim that he makes on behalf of Hartley and his school of associationism which has been often overlooked by the critics of Wordsworth, but we cannot maintain with Prof. Beatty that the poet lived within the narrow limits of their empirical theories. Many of the principles of that school have been adopted by Wordsworth to explain his theory of knowledge and the mysterious faculty of memory, but to them he added a good deal of the critical method similar to that of Kant, applied something of Platonism learnt at Cambridge, and with the help mostly of his penetrating power of imagination and mystical experiences, the truth of which we have no reason to question, he rendered the same service to English thought which Kant and his school did for Germany. Thus it was, and not by remaining a votary of the English philosophy of the eighteenth century, which had lost all its vitality because of the drying up of its spiritual fountains, that Wordsworth transformed his ancestral city of bricks into one of

[1] A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[3] A. Beatty, *William Wordsworth*.

marble. The following pages are an attempt to study the poet in this light, tracing the natural bent of the mystic in his temperament from his early days to the fully developed transcendentalist of the nineteenth century whose creed goes back to Plato on the one hand, and Schelling and Hegel on the other. In the words of Strong, it is the creed that declared: "the macrocosm could be interpreted by the microcosm, for macrocosm and microcosm alike were modes in which the Infinite one made himself known to us." [1]

II

To understand the growth of the mind of Wordsworth there can be no better authority than the frank and detailed autobiography given to us in *The Prelude*, where we have an accurate analysis of the workings of his mind, "the Foundations and the Building up [2] of his own spirit. There, as in most of his other poems, Wordsworth repeatedly tells us that Nature arrested his attention from the days of early boyhood. He very often used to steal into her solitude and muse over her visible charms, which used to stir his sensitive nature in such a way that he felt his sympathies extended to all the objects around him. Her serenity and peace was a permanent source of joy to him, while her majesty and grandeur impressed him with a sense of reverence, even of awe. Thus, between the feelings of love and respect for Nature the poet's mind began to grow in the consciousness of some Presence haunting her varied scenes, of the principle of Unity behind the apparent diversity of the phenomena.

With such an imaginative frame of mind and under the influence of early religious training the boy, ere long, began to connect his experiences in order to understand their significance. He yielded himself up in complete passivity to the influences of Nature, and looked upon her in a spirit of deep religious affection. The period of animal delight was gradually supplanted first by passive communion, and then by the active and creative power of imagination that had learnt to find religious meaning in the forms of Nature. She seems to have become, by now, a moral influence on his mind and in his life,

[1] A. T. Strong, *Great Poets and Their Theology*, p. 336.
[2] Coleridge, *To William Wordsworth*.

with power to "kindle and restrain," intensify and discipline his feelings.

Great were the influences that contributed to the further mental growth of Wordsworth at the University of Cambridge—influences like the current philosophical thoughts and political and theological controversies that pervaded the University atmosphere. Chief among them were the rationalistic philosophy of Locke and Hume, and the revolutionary doctrines of France. Wordsworth drank deep of all these doctrines. Nature, however, was not neglected. He found in communion with her a power that could always uplift his mind, bring comfort and joy to his heart, and

> "mitigate the injurious sway of place
> Or circumstance."[1]

But she had ceased to exercise an autocratic sway over his mind. The active power of youth had now asserted itself. At the same time, he realised the presence of a power, or the World-Soul, that was the guiding force behind every object in the universe, and dedicated himself to the service of that Spirit.

The influence predominant over the mind of Wordsworth from 1793-95 was that of Godwin, to whom he turned for comfort when "his Republican hopes were in distress," and "the revolution in France seemed a satire on freedom and an insult to reason."[2] Like a jilted lover, he suffered "extreme intellectual disorganisation,"[3] which he tried to set right by becoming a whole-hearted Godwinian. "He had before accepted," observes Professor Selincourt, "such of Godwin's tenets as were compatible with revolutionary ideal—his humanitarianism, his condemnation of war and of the criminal law, his necessitarianism: now he embraced the creed in all its implications, in its exaltation of reason at the expense of the passions of the individual against the collective will, in its insistence on the right of each man to reject all general rules of conduct and act in each situation as his independent reason prompted him."[4] Rousseau's "general will" doctrine had failed to produce the desired change, and so Wordsworth went to the other side by adopting the extreme individualism of Godwin. He celebrated

[1] *The Prelude*, III, 103-04.
[2] J. Fotheringham, *Prelude as a Study of Education*, p. 32.
[3] M. M. Rader, *Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry*.
[4] E. de Selincourt, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 159-60.

it with full zeal in his two writings of the period—*Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers*. In both of them the dominating conception is necessitarian, and the crimes are the outcome of the "confused association of ideas,"[1] when reason is not at the helm. So thoroughly was he convinced of the rule of *fixed laws*, both in respect to nature and to man, that he denied free volitional activity to man whose will was nothing other than one of the many cases of the association of ideas under the direction of reason. It was under such a flush of enthusiasm that Wordsworth advised a student of the Temple: "Throw away your books of Chemistry and read Godwin on Necessity." The tendency, however, was not deep-rooted. He could never become a true necessitarian, in spite of his great admiration for Godwin and his doctrine, because the system took away from the mind the gift of free-will, and left no room for passion, will, imagination, sympathy and habit. It attempted "to abstract the hopes of Man out of his feelings,"[2] and decried such human virtues as pity, domestic affections and the natural love of man for property, which Wordsworth always believed to be the elementary principles of man's social and moral being, giving it coherence and connection. While Godwin celebrated the principles of justice and virtue in the abstract, Wordsworth loved to dwell with man as he was, with his passions, emotions and feelings as they existed. Thus his discipleship could not continue for long, and does not occupy a very important place in the utterances of the poet.

Wordsworth's association with Coleridge is a well-known event. During their joint authorship of the *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge aroused the interest of his friend in the system of Hartley's philosophy, grounds for the reception of which were prepared by the study of Godwin. The next three years (1795-98) found Wordsworth an ardent admirer of Hartley. In his system Wordsworth read a "deeper philosophy of life" because it interwove its patent materialism with the theory of divine impulse, not very unlike his own spiritual feelings at the time. Moreover, being an essentially subjective poet, the psychology of Hartley attracted him as a great aid to the Examination of the mind, and formation of the theory of knowledge. Agreeing with Hartley, and true to his own experience truthfully recorded, he found that the manner in which the mind of man is wedded to this goodly

[1] H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth*, p. 84.
[2] *The Prelude*, XI, 225-226.

universe is by way of experience,[1] and that his tempest-tossed soul could regain its calm only if it returned to that primary source of enlightenment. This philosophy, therefore, if it did anything for Wordsworth at the time of his intellectual crisis, when he had lost

> "All feeling of conviction, and in fine,
> Sick, wearied out with contrarities,
> Yielded up moral questions in despair,"[2]

offered him a fresh starting point after he had met with disappointment both in the Revolution and in Godwin.

In making his claim on behalf of Hartley's philosophy, and claiming Wordsworth as an "interpreter and poet of associationism,"[3] Professor Beatty asks us "how it was that by 1798 Wordsworth was in possession of a theory and a method in poetry with which he was utterly unacquainted in 1795,"[4] and explains it in the light of his own assumption, giving us a long list of ideas which the poet might have imbibed from the philosopher. We are willing to concede much to what Professor Beatty says in support of his viewpoint that between 1795-98 Wordsworth drew most of his inspiration from "the general stock of English thought," "under the guidance of Hartley."[5] The English thinkers reminded him of the treasures of sense-experience and the store-house of memory. The poet, fondly dwelling on the happy days of childhood, suddenly realised that all could yet be well if he retraced his steps and freely surrendered himself again to the surroundings of simple life and nature that had helped the growth of his mind till he lost his way in the forest of sophistry. So he turned from the doctrines of rationalism to one of faith in the purity and natural goodness of the senses, that speak not of the complex and the artificial, but of simple things and common feelings that appeal directly to the soul. Standing again at the "primal fount of his being" from which had flowed into him all knowledge and self-consciousness, he cast aside the narrow intellectualism in which he had been caught for some time, and revised his old faith at the altar of Nature. He consulted experience afresh not by way of analysis and proof, but with the help of "Imaginative Reason," that "sees into the life of things" through its synthetic power.

[1] *The Recluse*, 805-06.
[2] *The Prelude*, XI, 304-06.
[3] A. Beatty, *William Wordsworth*, p. 45.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Here Wordsworth left Hartley far behind. The associationist thinker believed that, "all mental states are derived from sensation," and looked upon the emotions as nothing but "aggregates of the ideas or traces of the sensible pleasures and pains, which ideas make up by their numbers and mutual influence upon one another."[1] But Wordsworth's discovery, through experience and recollection, led him to another path. Some of the "mental states" that he had felt rose from sensation but did not exhaust themselves in pure sensuous or even intellectual delights. They were supersensible experiences and the emotions they created could in no way be connected with the "traces of the sensible pleasures and pains." The thrills of joy of those moments were attended with peace and serenity, and surpassed even the highest pitch of sensible pleasure. As for recollection, he discovered that behind the integrity of mental growth in man, the principle that gave unity to all experiences—past and present—was not the chain of necessity or the association of ideas in a mechanical way, but it was, "the vital soul" itself. The unity of consciousness of which every individual is conscious in his own life postulated an active, vital and organic soul without which the experience would be disorganised and without any significance. He proclaims this conception most emphatically when he says:

> "Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows
> Like harmony in music; there is a dark
> Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
> Discordant elements, makes them cling together
> In one society. How strange that all
> The terrors, pains, and early miseries,
> Regrets, vexations, lassitudes interfused
> With the mind, should e'er have borne a part,
> And that a needful part, in making up
> The calm existence that is mine when I
> Am worthy of myself."[2]

It was the percipient, intelligent and conscious Ego that gave energy and interest, meaning and value, to the facts and experience of human existence. As it went through the conflicts of life and shocks of experience, it gained in knowledge and wisdom, and could with

1 Hartley, *Observation on Man*, I, p. 368.
2 *The Prelude*, I, 340-50.

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authority explain the evident contradiction of good and evil. The rationalists had committed the mistake of setting all this at a discount hence, all the errors of their judgment. It was in this manner that Wordsworth succeeded in working his way out of the tangle, and reached the transcendental point of view. It should also be noted here that Wordsworth had, by this time, visited the country of Kant and Schiller, and that his friend, Coleridge, ever afterwards busied himself in the study and propagation of German literature and philosophy. An interest in the thought movement of Germany, a revived joy in Nature, and the revolutionary zeal to do away with "the normal categories of reason in favour of various imaginative principles,"[1] completed the breach between Wordsworth and the English thinkers, and brought him in line with the school of transcendental thought with its "hints of wider law," and "premonitions of unthought-of fundamental unities."[2]

Mr. Craik makes an untenable statement when he says: "German inspiration operated most directly, and produced the most marked effect, in the poetry of Wordsworth."[3] As all the biographers of the poet tell us, he had little knowledge of the German language, even when he came back from his German tour, and that the only literary work that had direct influence on him was Schiller's *Robbers*, echoes from which we have in the *Borderers*. But the influence there is more in the direction of sentimentalism and revolution than in that of deep thinking. The doctrines of Kant could not have, therefore, reached him before 1801, and that through Coleridge. Max Herzberg is right when he says that "only through conversation, such as that of Coleridge, could novel ideas penetrate to his everactive intellect,"[4] and although in 1828, according to the testimony of T. G. Gattan, he had "a strong flavour of Kantean transcendentalism" in all his discourses, his poetry, the best portion of which finished by 1805, does not reveal any such indebtedness. His philosophy is typically his own, the results of deep feeling and deep thinking, but the conclusions arrived at very often agree with the transcendental system of thought because both are the reasoned appreciation of life born of deeper knowledge and intuitive consciousness of truth.

1 G. Santayana, *Poetry and Religion*, p. 219.
2 *Ibid.*
3 G. L. Craik, *History of English Literature*, II, p. 435.
4 Max J. Herzberg, *William Wordsworth and German Literature*, P. M. L. A., Vol. XL, 1925, p. 345.

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III

We have so far traced the general development of the poet's mind. It reveals to us how the current of his religious consciousness flowed free from his early days, how it was interrupted for a brief period, and how it resumed its course as free and unrestrained as before. We shall now proceed to discuss how these changes affected his theory of knowledge, his attitude towards Nature and towards Man.

First then let us consider the problem of knowledge as it was faced and solved by Wordsworth. We are in full agreement with Professor Beatty when he asserts that here Wordsworth is "essentially in line with the general tradition of English Philosophy." [1] The poet is extremely practical-minded and believes with Locke and Hume that as far as the experimental truths are concerned there are no innate ideas. Thoughts originate directly out of sensation as we come in contact with external things, and the stock of knowledge that we possess is the product of the native activity of our senses from the period of infancy. So Wordsworth insists in the *Expostulation and Reply, The Tables Turned,* and the *Preface* of 1815, on the necessity and importance of the accurate observation of things as they are in themselves, and paying heed to sense-impressions as materials out of which all real knowledge is derived as against "the ready-made knowledge in the world." These ideas are simple in their first state, but give rise to more complex ones as the law of association operates upon them and presents them to us in their various relations. In his own case, for example, the rich store of sense impressions, which the "dumb yearnings" and "hidden appetites" of boyhood had gathered together, form now the foundation of his knowledge and philosophy. The child, thus, is Father of the Man. The sensible pleasures of his early days lead him to intellectual pleasures, the "aching joys" and "dizzy raptures" of adult age, and eventually to the enjoyment of moral and spiritual pleasures as the final result of his intellectual fruition. Hence the great importance attached by the poet to the simple and unsophisticated joys and pleasures of the child:

> "Those hallowed and pure motions of the sense,
> Which seem, in their simplicity to own
> An intellectual charm." [2]

[1] A. Beatty, *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.
[2] *The Prelude*, I, 551-53.

The poet reverts to it frequently in most of his important utterances wherever he speaks of the growth of human knowledge, and rightly regards this period of pure sensation as vital to higher mental achievements.

The next stage of mental development is characterised first by the capacity for observing and noting accurately "the infinite variety of natural appearances," and then by an extension of deep and cordial feelings to the object present before the mind. As Wordsworth tells us in the second book of *The Pelude*, during this period man becomes conscious of the creative and "plastic power"[1] of the mind that rises superior to mere sense-impressions derived from the external world, coerces all things into activity,[2] and reads meanings and connections between things which it did not find before. The mind now asserts its independence and active power and penetrates through the concrete reality to a synthesis of its inner significance and indulges in abstractions. It absorbs and transforms the analogies and relations presented by the objects into the light of its own feeling and emotion. Such an attitude springs originally by association of ideas, but as the feeling becomes deeper and intenser, the commonness and familiarity of the impression vanishes, the keen insight penetrates into its inward meaning, and the natural becomes supernatural, the real changes into the visionary. In the cuckoo he perceives "no bird, but an invisible thing, a voice, a mystery," because as the cry of the bird revives in him memories of childhood, he is carried by a volitional act of rapture into an intense feeling of reality of past joy and freedom, and for the moment the earth becomes an "unsubstantial, faery place." In the poem, *To a Highland Girl*, similarly, the girl and her material surroundings lose their ordinary matter-of-fact existence, and seem "like something fashioned in a dream." In these and other similar poems, we have a "unity, an interfusion, and a visionary and dreamlike atmosphere"[3] achieved which clearly shows how the subjective mood of the poet can put its stamp upon the reality outside and make use of it to reflect itself. The world, however, thus created was not a true one. It was based not on truth but on fancy, while Reason and Imagination yet remained unawakened.

The final stage of mental development, according to Wordsworth, comes with full maturity after being properly schooled by life. Man

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 362-63.
[2] M. M. Rader, *Op. Cit.*, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, 390.

then becomes " human-hearted," with his reason fully developed and imagination marked by great activity. He achieves then a perfect artistic fusion of the elements of realism and spiritualisation. The effect is produced neither by the analytic method of the rationalists who would like everything to be proved " at the bar of abstract reason," nor through a mechanical process of association, but with the constructive power of the mind that regards things as living facts, and with its penetrating insight sees " into the life of things." This supreme mental activity became most patent to Wordsworth when he realised the unity and continuity of the mind, and placed all his future hopes upon that fact. " I had inward hopes," he tells us,

> " And swellings of the spirit, was rapt and soothed,
> Conversed with promises, had glimmering views—
> How life pervades the undecaying mind ;
> How the immortal soul with God-like power
> Informs, creates, and thaws the deepest sleep
> That time can lay upon her." [1]

Here we find asserted the " majestic strength " and undecaying nature of the human mind that raises cosmos out of the chaos of memory pictures, and thus superposes itself upon the life of sense. In it the poet finds for himself promises when memory will aid him to defeat the tyranny of time by reviving in him the most distinct recollection of the past. The champions of Hartlean philosophy might perhaps read in the passage a belief in the theory of the association of ideas in a causal connection, but as the spirit of the lines reveals, the grounds of the poet's " hopes and swellings of the spirit " are not the soulless laws of that philosophy, but the divine and god-like power of the mind that has a creative faculty of its own, possesses the power of introspection, regulates and transcends the activities of the senses, and claims to be a part of that divine energy that works behind Nature.

Wordsworth, thus, gives to the mind both a transcendental factor and a creative power through which it draws all its knowledge. This faculty he calls the Imaginative Reason, which is " lord and master " and " outward sense the obedient servant of her will."[2] Its functions are neither microscopic nor mechanical. " Like an agent of the one great Mind," it works " in alliance with the works which

[1] *The Prelude*, IV, 162-68.
[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 222-23.

it beholds,"[1] but by virtue of its omnipotence it takes a comprehensive and spiritual view of things and invests them with its own idealisations. It is of a wider compass, and of a mysterious and imperishable nature. It is neither contained within the phenomena of sensation nor included under the category of scientific reason. It, in truth,

> "Is but another name for absolute power
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
> And Reason in her most exalted mood."[2]

It does not merely record and review the impressions but becomes the directive power, intellectualising and rationalising the emotions. It is the operation of the mind upon external objects, and shows the highest activity and power of which the individual mind is capable. It proceeds from and is "governed," writes Wordsworth in the Preface to the Poems of 1815, "by a sublime consciousness of the soul in her own mighty and almost divine powers." Here we have a conception of imagination which may howsoever have been based, in the earlier stage, on the associationistic method of explaining imagination, at last proclaims the independence of the mind and its freedom to work changes and interpret things anew in the light of its own supreme law. This is akin to the idealism of Berkeley and Fichte, when he says that the world thus created and interpreted is his own, for, he insists:

> "I made it, for it only lived to me,
> And to the God who sees into the heart."[3]

It exists subjectively as a result of the creative activity of the mind, but is at the same time the idea of God's mind, and is discovered only when the Finite can merge itself into the Infinite. Then it yields all the solutions of our many unanswerable and "obstinate questionings,"[4] and enables the mind to attain to higher forms of intellectual life. But in the next moment Wordsworth connects it with the actual and sees the reconciliation of the outer world of facts with the inner world of ideas. This transcendental source of all knowledge through the spiritual powers of the mind has been accordingly celebrated by the poet with great joy and rapture when he exclaims:

> "There I beheld the emblem of a mind
> That feeds upon infinity, that broods

[1] *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey.*
[2] *The Prelude*, XIV, 189-92.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, 143-44.
[4] *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality.*

Over the dark abyss ; intent to hear
Its voices issuing forth to silent light
In one continuous stream ; a mind sustained
By recognitions of transcendent power,
In sense conducting to ideal form,
In soul of more than mortal privilege."[1]

The poet is most explicit in the following passage, where he lucidly explains his conception of the human mind that has attained to the highest degree of perfection and self-realisation. Such minds, he says:

"In a world of life they live
By sensible impressions not enthralled,
But by their quickening impulse made more prompt
To hold fit converse with the spiritual world,
And with the generations of mankind
Spread over time, past, present, and to come,
Age after age, till Time shall be no more,
Such minds are truly from the Deity,
For they are Powers, and hence the highest bliss
That flesh can know is theirs—the consciousness
Of Whom they are, habitually infused
Through every image and through every thought,
And all affections by communion raised
From earth to heaven, from human to divine ;
Hence endless occupation for the Soul,
Whether discursive or intuitive ;
Hence cheerfulness for acts of daily life,
Emotions which best foresight need not fear,
Most worthy then of trust when most intense."[2]

Here we have the very heart of transcendentalism which announces the creed of Hegel. To him, as to Hegel, the knowledge of spiritual reality can be grasped only by an intelligent reading of sensible impressions, and by correctly appraising the permanent and the spiritual value of our common deeds and emotions. He does not condemn the mundane or even discard it, but happily connects it with the eternal order of things, and declares that the mind can come to self-consciousness only by comprehending the universe as an embodiment of its Divine Author, and itself as a spark of that flame.

[1] *The Prelude*, XIV, 70-77. [2] *Ibid.*, 89-123.

This leads us to a consideration of the poet's conception of God and the immortality of the soul in the light of his theory of knowledge. They were based not on any system of ecclesiastical teachings, but were evolved out of his own independent thinking and personal experiences grounded on early theological training, that had engendered in him a deeply religious temper. Even in the days when he was "a loyal and convinced Anglican," he was not free, as Batho points out, "from intellectual troubles and questions,"[1] and preserved an open mind, showing thereby a consistency in his general trend of thought. To his contemplative disposition, the idea of God appealed as a mighty spirit who was present in the nature of all things, a "Being spread o'er all that moves," an energising Power "deeply interfused,"

> "Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."[2]

It would be idle to pretend that Wordsworth's philosophy goes here much beyond pantheism, the old idea of *anima mundi*, the all-pervading spirit, that exercises a plastic power over matter giving it life and form, and over mind giving it thoughts and ideas of the reality beyond the sense. Its ceaseless activity is expansion and contraction, the effect of the former being creation and of the latter the cessation of existence, which makes it the home of being before and after its earthly existence. At other times he seems to adopt the theory of a personal God who takes

> "A deep and reverential care
> For the unoffending creatures whom he loves."[3]

He is the Eternal and wise Ruler of the universe, who exercises the power of divine prescience in human life and shapes man's destiny in the light of His Eternal Love. The faith, however, that he mostly expresses in the best part of his poetical works is neither wholly pantheistic nor entirely mystical, but transcendental—the conception of a divine spirit working in man and nature to

[1] A. C. Batho, *Later Wordsworth*, p. 277.
[2] *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey.*
[3] *Hart-Leap Well.*

realise a perfect end, but wholly contained in neither. In his revolt against the acceptance of religious belief upon the authority of any creed, and in his desire to get religion recognised more as a life and an experience rather than as a garb to be put on particular occasions, he declared that the most convincing revelations of God were not to be accepted as the experience of other people, but could come to every individual through the millions of miracles that are worked around and within him. This has been very often misinterpreted as "natural religion," but if we are not greatly mistaken, we shall try to make it clear in the following sections that Wordsworth's loving observation of the facts of nature and the workings of the human mind, inspired him with a reverence, not for nature, but for the laws operating in her which were nothing other than the workings of the Divine Idea. They gave him a high spiritual faith in the existence and presence of her Law-giver, which remained with him till the end. In his letter to Beaumont, May, 1825, we note the following significant passage: "Theologians may puzzle their heads about dogmas as they will, the religion of gratitude cannot mislead us. Of that we are sure, and gratitude is the handmaid to hope, and hope the harbinger of faith. I look abroad upon Nature, I think of the best part of our species, I lean upon my friends, and I meditate upon the Scriptures, especially the Gospel of St. John, and my creed rises up of itself, with the ease of an exhalation, yet a fabric of adamant." The foundations of his belief have been most candidly expressed here and are in full conformity with his earlier tenets. There is the same joy in Nature, the same confidence in Man, and the same conception of Divine Spirit working in both. It has been accepted not as a dogma, but as a fact of joyful spiritual experience, corroborated by the words of the Bible.

The immortality of the soul, in a similar way, was to Wordsworth the state "of pure, imperishable, blessedness:"

> "Which reason promises, and holy writ
> Ensures to all believers."[1]

If the human mind was an image of God in its creative power and transcendental majesty, and claimed not only kinship with, but participation in, the Infinite Mind as its inseparable part, it was

[1] *The Excursion*, 143-145.

reasonable to think that it could not be extinguished by death. That mortal end, while it dissolved the partnership of the body and the soul, only helped to restore the latter to its origin. The part shared in the eternity of the whole, and during the period of its separation, although it was weighed down by its mortal fate, yet it preserved the consciousness of its immortality and lived in the firm conviction that:

> "Our destiny, our being's heart and home
> Is with infinitude, and only there."[1]

The mind felt itself as finite, and therefore as separate from God, but it knew that it contained within itself a portion of the Universal Mind and that it could enter into union with God by renouncing its particularity and selfish ends. Hence all its expectations that have been continually repeated by the poet. Man lives in a world of hope created and distinctly conceived through the intuitive power of the soul, and his entire life is one painful and continuous effort through which he seeks to realise the sublimity which he feels to be possible and within the reach of his soul, namely, a complete union with God—the highest point of self-realisation. What he achieves falls short of ultimate completeness and unity, but he knows and feels himself to be in the process of "becoming"—something evermore about to be'[2]—as he plays his part in the realisation of the plan of divine providence. His place in that great cosmic order is the highest because he stands nearest to God and possesses an idea of that plan with full consciousness of the extent of his own duty and obligation. He ascends "in dignity of being" as he performs deeds of love and morality, of great self-sacrifice and endurance, and, in the higher spheres of art, religion and science, things that "have power to live, and act, and serve the future hour."[3] His spring of action, in every case, is the perpetual unrest of his heart—"a noble restlessness," as the poet calls it in *The Excursion*, born of the feeling of an unachieved idea. But the failure to attain to completeness is not a source of dismay. It brings to him spiritual solace through the inspiring feeling that what he has done is sure to win him "Heaven's applause,"[4] and that he must continue onward with unflagging zeal

1 *The Prelude*, VI, p. 603-04.
2 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 607.
3 *After-Thought—A Sonnect.*
4 *Character of the Happy Warrior.*

because "whatsoever point" has been gained, there yet remains "something to pursue." All this, however, would be meaningless and blind activity, if existence were to terminate in the grave and one could not look forward to anything beyond. The doctrine of immortality, therefore, was based by Wordsworth, as it was by Kant, in the first place, upon the pledge of man's potential powers that declare the rationality of his spiritual hopes, and in the second place, upon "the veracity, justice, and goodness of God,"[1] that would not suffer the hopes of humanity to be frustrated by death. He brings out both these points clearly in his letter to Sir George Beaumont, (March, 1805) which he wrote immediately after the death of his brother. There, he said: "Why have we a choice, and a will, and a notion of justice and injustice, enabling us to be moral agents? Why have we sympathies that make the best of us so afraid of inflicting pain and sorrow, which yet we see dealt about so lavishly by the supreme Governor? Why should our notions of right towards each other, and to all sentient beings within our influence, differ so widely from what appears to be His notion and rule, if everything were to end here?"

"Would it not be blasphemy to say that, upon the supposition of the thinking principle being destroyed by death, however inferior we may be to the Great Cause and Ruler of things, we have more of love in our nature than He has? The thought is monstrous; and yet how to get rid of it, except upon the supposition of another and a better world, I do not see." In later years, however, he entertained some doubt as to individual immortality, and the existence of personality in future life. It made him fear "that friends, by death disjoined, may meet no more,"[2] and sometimes caused the wandering cloud of despair to overshadow the serene firmament of his faith, but he always tried to dispel it through "sober certainties of love," and made his intellect submit to it in meekness. At the same time, he never yielded to the Calvinistic doctrine of eternal punishment and ruled it out of his tenets of faith by his conception of a loving instead of a vindictive God.

(To be continued.)

[1] W. R. Sorly, *A History of English Philosophy*, p. 86.
[2] *O Dearer Far.*

VIRGINIA WOOLF AS ESSAYIST AND CRITIC

B. K. PALIT, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Lond.)

THE century we live in has been singularly fortunate in producing quite a number of women litterateurs. Virginia Woolf, whose death last April robbed England of one of her leading writers, was a successful novelist, essayist and critic, and had also tried her hand at biography. She was the daughter of Sir Leslie Stephen and had been liberally educated at home. As her father's daughter she assumed that the object of life was to write good books. And when she married a kindred soul, Leonard Woolf, the political writer, and together they started the Hogarth Press, a fresh impetus was given to her productive genius. She began her career with novels, and she wrote about the ordinary passions of men and women as if she had been told about them by someone who regarded them as interesting but unreasonable. Her earlier novels, *The Voyage Out* (1915), *Night and Day* (1919), and *Jacob's Room* (1922), gained considerable success. In her later novels she put aside conventional form, achieving her effects by so minute a delineation of thought that the words and actions of her characters are of no importance. This feature of her writing makes her later novels, *The Lighthouse* (1927), *Orlando* (1928) and *The Waves*, (1931) full of interest. Her recent biography of her friend, Roger Fry, also reveals the balanced and orderly powers of her mind.

From novelist to essayist is not such a far cry as some people seem to think. Every tolerable piece of literature brings us into contact with a personality, if we have the knack of detecting the evidences. The novelist is the writer who manages, through his prose fiction, to impose upon us the illusion of life ; he brings us into contact with imaginary personalities. And the essayist is the writer who succeeds, in a prose which contains no narrative, in imposing upon us a sense of his living personality. It may be an intellectual personality ; it may be spiritual or convivial ; but it must be living. Virginia Woolf's essays are throbbing with her personality. While her novels may be said to have embarked on an adventure, her essays are as sure in touch as those of any born *causeur*. Many

of her readers believe that she wrote best when she took up the pen of the essayist. For the last twenty years she had been pouring her personality and her ideas into newspaper articles and reviews. All discerning readers are aware of the distinction which marked her work, of its wide and generous atmosphere, of the simple and delicate beauty of her style, of the skill with which she could take any topic into large surroundings of fancy and imagination, of the ease with which she could summon to her canvas the great figures of literature. She had her failures, like everybody else. The journalist does not live who is not sometimes monotonous and flat, and a rapid worker who seeks simplicity may easily slip into the commonplace. But when she was at her best, using all her gifts of gentle irony, subtle insight, meditative vision and free and bold interpretation, she had few equals among her contemporaries.

Her essays can be read in *The Common Reader* (1925) and the *Second Common Reader* (1932). The practice of republishing short essays and reviews has grown greatly in favour among present-day writers, and evidently responds to a demand by the general public. These little volumes have a neatness of form and a variety of subject which make them attractive as gifts for a birthday or companions on a holiday. A new novel, especially in these days of advanced sex-analysis, may be an embarrassing present in a quiet and conservative family. Hence the publishing of essays has become fashionable and may be encouraged to a certain extent. But an essay should be about something definite, and we prefer the pages which give us pleasant information regarding a place, or a book, or a personage, to those which seem composed in a vacuum. Mrs. Woolf's *The Common Reader*, which now looms large in the vision of academic Calcutta, can be depended upon to give entire satisfaction in this respect. The book is a scrap-book, and a *florilegium* of essays, drawn like these from the literary work of twenty years, is apt to be rather a miscellany. But the quality has not suffered ; in reading none of these papers do we feel that of course the writer had to knock together something about the subject, and has made a pretty fair show. No, these studies are charming and written with evident relish. The title has been taken from a stray remark of Dr. Johnson's ; the " common reader " is the mysteriously collective being with whom the great Cham rejoiced to concur when he assigned the verdict on poetic fame to the common sense of readers. The common reader,

says Mrs. Woolf, " is guided by an instinct to create for himself, out of whatever odds and ends he can come by, some kind of whole—a portrait of a man, a sketch of an age, a theory of the art of writing. He never ceases, as he reads, to run up some rickety and ramshcakle fabric which shall give him temporary satisfaction." That lively evocation of characters and times is the creative pleasure of a reader. It may grow into criticism, just as in Mrs. Woolf's book the fabrics she calls rickety and ramshackle have grown into a more stable structure.

She is indeed an artist, and it is pleasant to read her in the discursive freedom of these essays. Turning to her first essay we find that she too has read evidently for her own pleasure. The life and constant ripple of amusement which this book conveys are a sure trace of those feelings in the writer. But the transfusion of a reader's impressions into these bright shapes is the work of an artist. The Pastons live again here, adroitly juxtaposed with Chaucer. It is as critic and artist that Mrs. Woolf lets the Pastons and the poet illuminate each other ; and all, it would seem, because the thriftless Sir John sat reading Chaucer by the fire instead of attending to business. A lively zest for human beings runs through this volume. The writer is at her best, we think, in the reconstruction and vivid presentation of queer characters. Her Duchess of Newcastle who " similised energetically, incongruously, eternally " and " became capable of involutions and contortions and conceits," her Mr. Day, her Mrs Pilkinton, her Archbishop Thomson whose " brawny logic and massive frame seemed to fit him to grapple with a task that taxed the strongest "—all these are little masterpieces, firm, rapid, brilliant and sympathetic. On Jane Austen she is illuminating, though to credit that great writer with " an unerring heart," an " unfailing good taste " and " an impeccable sense of human values " is surely the very paradox of adulation. In her essay on Addison she has some excellent remarks about Macaulay. Macaulay's magnificence was life-enhancing ; but speaking critically, we may say that it is hard to connect much of what he says " with anything so minute as a human being." Macaulay's drums and trumpets were the wrong way of adulation ; Addison was what he described himself, a lute sounding in a quiet parlour.

Mrs. Woolf knows how to vary her approaches. In the essay on Montaigne, it is the method of statement, couched in an interrogatory

that follows him through the records of his thought and the contradiction of his moods—a method not unlike that of Pater. With the lesser Elizabethan dramatists she builds up impressions, and we enjoy their brilliance ; but from the contrast of Elizabethan realities with ours, of our novels and their poetry, there is always, implicit or explicit, a criticism. Only in this case and in one other does Mrs. Woolf deal with poets, each time with something of a side glance. But on novelists and the novel there is a glut of papers. Here, from time to time, there is a judgment which is final and refreshing, as that when we read Charlotte Bronte's novels for their poetry, and *Wuthering Heights* for the same reason, but with a difference, because Emily faces a vaster task without personal limitations. The only sound test of a critic is whether he (or she) purifies and fortifies one's own judgment while expressing his, or her, own. And this Mrs. Woolf, being an experienced novelist herself, seldom fails to do in her interpretations of the work of novelists. In analysing the causes of George Eliot's success as a novelist, she unhesitatingly places her finger on the former's tolerance and sympathy, which "play most happily in dwelling upon the homespun of ordinary joys and sorrows."

Mrs. Woolf has an ardent intellect and a trenchancy of expression which, although it runs to the precious now and then, is often invigorating. But she has touched upon so large a variety of topics that it is almost inevitable she should, at times, have lost her way or plunged into obscurity. When she gyrates about Smith and Liverpool in *Notes on an Elezabethan Play* or when she tries to analyse the secret of Dostoevsky, we have a sensation of being out of our depth. In one or two papers, on modern fiction or contemporary literature in general, Mrs. Woolf glances freely at its present discontents and dilemmas. These essays are useful for that very reason and they attest the worth of the critic by showing that a lively sympathy with the age she lives in does not prevent her from seeing its maladies. Despite her relish for new work she lays bare the flaws in it ; which is, to speak summarily, a want of conviction. Our contemporaries are sincere but unpersuasive. They transcribe impressions but they lack the conviction, the confidence that their impressions will hold good for others, which enabled Scott or Jane Austen to neglect opportunities, to slumber and yet to write great books. What should be the remedy ? Here we might wish our essayist to go on, but when one convention

has been broken another can hardly be prescribed in advance. It may be an error to shift the failings of literature on to life ; but literature certainly appears to be suffering less for its own sins than from the troubles of the age. From Mrs. Woolf, at any rate, we get that valuable thing, a true perspective. It implies the sanity of criticism which is commonsense enlightened.

Seldom has Mrs. Woolf written better than in some of these essays. Her writing has solidity, and the perfection she achieves has been hewn out of solid material. She brings to these compositions, among other qualities, a reading which is often pioneer, and often opens some fresh vista for further enquiry, or else a remarkable advantage of personal and the adapted impressions of eminent authors. Her learning, her wide range of words and ideas, are what we expect—and seldom get—from those who occupy professorial chairs. Her lovely habit of analysis plays with sparkling effect in her essays. There are many estimable and learned writers who do not delight us. We respect their work, we admire their judgment and we read them for information, for self-improvement, but not for sheer pleasure. Mrs. Woolf, besides her other gifts, is a creator of joy ; she has a fundamental seriousness, but dresses it with a rare talent of communicating joy. Her essays show two characteristics that were connected with her temperament and training. It has been said that education enables a person to use the experience of the past. Virginia Woolf was in this sense a remarkable woman. She read widely and eagerly, and so she had learnt more than many experienced men. As her vivid imagination gave her an intimate insight into other minds, and her remarkable memory kept all her impressions, she assimilated in this way composure and wisdom and a commonsense that was a constant surprise to her readers. The second characteristic of her work was her power of putting herself into sympathy with readers of every sort. Men and women who never gave a thought to the topics that most engaged her mind read what she wrote with the keenest enjoyment. Her writing has intimacy and range, and it reflects the varying colours of a personality that is candidly revealed but never self-consciously obtruded. Its most artful effects have the air of being unstudied ; and its literary agility is a lubricant that makes for smooth running, not a brilliance to dazzle and distract. Because Mrs. Woolf was serenely at home with herself, because she was ceaselessly interested in human nature and tolerant of human weakness, she

could discourse at leisure upon any subject that happened to crop up. If the hour demanded satire or ridicule, her pen was as ready a weapon as any others, but her best prose had something rarer than sting or thrust ; it was the persuasive musing of a generous nature, and all that was generous in her audience responded to it. She was not a sentimental essayist ; she indulged in no gestures of heartiness and made no sisterly protestations. But her attitude to the reader, as to life, proceeded from that assumption of friendship which is at once the root and the flower of civilisation.

Her style has been greatly moulded by her experience as a novelist. That fluid, darting prose, diffused with light, shade and colour, arises out of the novelist's zest for actual life and actual people. And along with this zest there is also a sense of detachment, a feminine nicety of touch, which is just perceptible. Her best writing has the effect of good conversation—indeed, of brilliant conversation—and she wanders off at will in all directions. It is full of sage reflections, sensitive observations and vivid phrases. She seems particularly to glory in the unexpected briliancy of descriptive phrases: " an obscurity which is not empty but thick with the star dust of innumerable lives," " we find ourselves oozing amazement, like a sponge," " life is not a series of gig lamps symmetricaily arranged ; life is a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope " and so on. Sometimes she seems deliberately to avoid the natural phrase and to fall in consequence into a certain stiffness. Talking of the style of Victorian dramatists, she says:—

Rhetorical and bombastic, the lines are flung and hurried into existence and reach the same impromptu felicities, have the same lip-moulded profusion and unexpectedness, which speech sometimes achieves, but seldom in our day the deliberate, solitary pen.

But in the main she writes with a pleasant dignity and a care for the value of words. In her amused appreciation of people she has been compared to Sterne, and she has indeed something of his ironic humour, but hers is more fastidious and more detached, subtler and less robust:—

Sophocles gliding like a shoal of trout smoothly and quietly, apparently motionless, and then, with a flicker of fins, off and away.

—*On Not Knowing Greek.*

The wit and charm in these essays are alluring enough, but they must not run away with us. We have to see how Mrs. Woolf, reading for pleasure and with an artist's interest, also read as a critic. In her criticisms she moved freely, with the assurance of a master. She definitely found her forte as a critical essayist, rather than a critic pure and simple. Between the essayist's criticism and the critic's essay there is a difference in kind. A fine discrimination is, no doubt, necessary to both. But the essayist insinuates his ; the critic promulgates: no wonder, then, that the former is the more persuasive. His general air of fallibility, his way of confessing that he cannot for the life of him help liking such and such a thing, is infinitely more seductive than the critic's implication that, if you do not like what he has taken the trouble to show you, you are past praying for. These two well-marked tracks in criticism may be called the way of preferences and the way of principles. Mrs. Woolf, following in the wake of Lamb and Wilde, trips along the former pathway. She is a critic of wide reading, and she walks as easily on the high roads as along the bypaths of literature. It was not her ambition to lay down principles of criticism ; we must not expect of her any startingly new standard revealing a new line of criticism. But she gives something else—an individual, immediate and often subtle reaction to books and authors. Her eye never misses its object as a theorist's does. She not only keeps her eye on the object, but chooses the very object, be it book or anniversary, about which a conscientious critic would be expected to write. She may pass on to other things, but it is by her ability to express her intuitions of the unique realities which every true work of literature presents to her that she gains our confidence. The arresting yet unexaggerated phrase, in which we feel that the unique quality of a writer's work has been captured, is the unmistakable sign by which we distinguish the natural critic from the journeyman or the philosopher. Mrs. Woolf's essays are full of such phrases, and in her hand they are flavoured with the pleasant astringency of a cultivated wit. Because she relies more on intuition than on reason she has been labelled as an " impressionist " critic. She certainly has set a high standard as such ; reading her, one is left with the impression that few critics know so well when a book is really a book, or can, at the same time, assign it so truly and generously to its place in life's scheme of things. She seldom compares, but one feels the wide background of reading and reference. She is never trivial in her preferences and her judg-

ments ; at the same time, she never becomes transcendental. She is devoid of high poetic imagination ; she never exhibits the dazzling critical acumen of a Coleridge or a Matthew Arnold. To use a classification that has long since gone out of fashion, she is beautiful but not sublime. She has died at the height of her powers, and she leaves a gap which will be difficult to fill.

SOCIALIST AND FASCIST THEORIES OF LAW

J. C. ACHARYYA, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

"THEORIES," to use Julius Stones' language,[1] "are produced by solutions," *i.e.*, by actual results. Theories of law under socialism and fascism are to be derived, therefore, from the effect of these ideologies on their respective legal spheres. Hence it is necessary not only to dwell briefly upon the ideologies themselves but also to find out how they have acted in their respective fields.

According to the doctrine of socialism, every individual produced something, and wanted to—

1. Use so much of the production as was necessary for him,
2. Exchange a portion of the remainder, for other necessaries, with those who needed his production, and
3. Lay by the rest (called surplus) for 1 and 2 (together called consumption) during his illness, disability, old age, etc., when he could not produce anything.

(With the introduction of money, 2 and 3 could be done easily with its help).

The length of the periods of illness, disability, old age, etc., being uncertain, there was a tendency to increase the surplus, for better security; and consumption being the same, the increase of the surplus depended upon the increase of the production. Machinery, invented to increase the production and purchased out of the surplus money (which formed the capital), required labourers for running it; and they were recruited out of those who could not perform all of 1, 2, and 3, by their own production but hoped to do so by the wages that were offered to them by the capitalists. But propensities grew in the capitalists to keep for themselves as much profit as possible; and this led to the decrease of wages, with the consequence that labourers could hardly keep their body and soul together. Society thus came to be divided into two classes (capitalists and labourers), the former exploiting the latter; an acute economic distress of the latter was the result.

[1] 'Theories of Law and Justice in Fascist Italy'—*Modern Law Review*, December 1937.

According to socialism, this distress could be removed by a method consisting of the following two stages:—

1. Capture, by the working-class, of the organs of the existing states, by constitutional procedure, and

2. Using those organs (specially legislative) as agents for reconstructing society according to the following programme:—

(*i*) Ownership and control of all the means of production (including land, capital, etc.) by the state,

(*ii*) Labour by all members of the state for common benefit.

(*iii*) Distribution of the wealth, by the state, in the interests of all (provision being made by the state for illness, disability, old age, etc.).

To the disease and remedy described by the above doctrine of "orthodox socialism,"[1] a little is added by the doctrine of modern socialism or "communist socialism"[2] *i.e.*, communism, the starting-point of which is generally regarded to be the 'Communist manifesto' drafted by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and issued in 1848. Briefly speaking, communism adds as follows: With the division of society (which is an association of human beings) into capitalist class and working class, the former wanted to ensure permanent exploitation of the latter, unmolested by anyone residing either within or without the land inhabited by the said association, *i.e.*, unmolested either by the workers themselves (who should peacefully submit to the process of exploitation) or by the outside capitalists (called Imperialists) intending to oust the capitalists of the land and exploit the said workers. Disguising this real object, it was declared by the capitalists that public safety demanded defence against foreign aggression (aiming at enslavement of one people by another) and maintenance of internal peace and order by administration of justice, *i.e.*, giving everyone his due (so that no person would encroach upon the dues, *i.e.*, rights, of another). By further declaring that the teeming millions of a society could not perform these functions, an organisation (called state) was set up by the capitalists for these purposes, *viz.*, "for defence against external enemies and for maintenance of peace and internal order by administration of justice."[3] The fundamental

[1] 'Fifty years of Jurisprudence' (Pound)—*Harvard Law Review*, Feb., 1937 and Jan., 1938.

[2] 'Interpretations of Legal History' (Pound).

[3] Salmond.

principles (constitution) were so framed that only the capitalists (propertied class) could be in a position to control all the organs of the state.

Law, the purpose of which was said to be the administration of justice, was a set of rules framed by the legislative organ indicating the rights of persons ; and as the rights and interests of the capitalists were to exploit the working-classs (whose interests were to stop such exploitation), law regulated these conflicting interests by making the interests of the capitalists prevail. Law was, therefore, according to communism, a machine in the hands of the capitalists for putting an end to the conflict by maintaining the process of the exploitation of the working-class.

The economic misery of the working class (due to such exploitation) could be removed, according to communism, by a method consisting of the following three stages:—

1. The mode of agitation recognised by the constitution safeguarding the interests of the capitalists only and the franchise depending on the ownership of property, the masses (though vast in number) could never gain anything by constitutional procedure. The effective means would, therefore, be an armed revolution by the working-class which would break into pieces the old state machine with its constitution and the governing class (the capitalists), and establishment of a state of their own—a state of workers only—a proletarian state, rather dictatorship, compelling the eradication of the capitalist-class as a whole and the transition to socialistic society.

The Third Communist International having advocated world-revolution by the working class, such proletarian states were expected to arise everywhere.

2. Such states would effect the said transition by working out the socialist programme mentioned above:

(*i*) They must transfer to themselves all the means of production and control all the economic forces of the country. All the land and industries would belong to them ; and they would have control of all individual farmers and collectivized peasants and of trade.

(*ii*) Each individual should work according to his capacity. The whole labour (peasants and industrial workers) would be regulated by such states for proper development of agriculture and industry. There would be common means of recreation as well.

(*iii*) Agriculture and industry being properly developed, each individual would receive wages according to his wants, there being no necessity for individual farmers and collectives of peasants supporting themselves by their own harvest (which is an uncertain affair), and trade also vanishing for a similar reason. Provision for illness, disability, old age, etc., would be made by such states.

3. Classless self-supporting societies being the result of the working out of the socialist programme, the purpose for which the proletarian states came into existence would be served. No society would then have anything to fear from another, since all these societies would belong to the masses united by common interests. The states then would have no function to perform and would disappear (with law) leaving the classless self-supporting societies under the collective control of the community.

It is this doctrine of communism that is being sought to be translated into action, and that in Russia. The first stage was carried out by the Bolshevist Revolution in 1917. The second stage was sought to be carried out by plans, like Five Years Plan, etc; the climax came at about 1930, when, at the height of the enthusiasm for planning, it was officially announced that socialism had won and irrevocably.[1] The third stage was sought to be ushered in by the movement in favour of the dissolution of the Soviets.

This movement, however, had to be stopped by decree.[2] For the Russian state was surrounded on all sides by capitalist states, naturally inimical to it. The Soviet state, therefore, remained; and since it had to remain, there was a tendency towards organising it on democratic lines. (The probletarian democratic state differed from a bourgeoise democratic state in the fact that while the latter would want to live for ever, the former would cease to exist as soon as socialistic societies were established all around.)

The rules made by Soviet state (regarding planning, etc.,) were, because they were made by the state, regarded (according to Marxian doctrine) as laws of the Soviet state; so the collective treatise on Soviet Law of Economics (published in 1935 and edited by Ginsburg) declared, "The plan is the law of the Soviet state." The Marxian proposition that "law regulates conflicting interests" had led to the

[1] *Cf.* Vishinsky, Procurator of U.S.S.R.
[2] *Cf.* Bukharin.

conclusion that law would not exist in a socialistic society where there were no conflicting interests to regulate this conclusion was considered wrong on account of the existence in the Soviet state of what was regarded as law ; so Komarov wrote in ' Soviet State '[1] :—

" It is the gravest perversion of our policy and of the methodology of Marx and Lenin to suggest that law and planning exclude each other."

Professor Pashoukanis,[2] however, supports the aforesaid conclusion by showing that the rules made by the Soviet state were not really laws. It has been the view, he says, of (Individualistic) Jurisprudence (down to that headed by Laband and Jellinek, and prevailing before the Great War of 1914-1918) that so long as an individual works out rules of conduct for his own guidance (without trespassing upon, *i.e.*, conflicting with, the sphere of another), no question of law arises; and that when he comes in relation with another, his interests may at times conflict with those of the other, and then law will be found there regulating those conflicting interests. Similar, according to Soviet Jurisprudence (appearing, in Russia, after the World War of 1914-18), is the case with the state, Soviet or otherwise ; so long as a state keeps within its private sphere of activities (*e.g.*, erecting factories, organising an exhibition, building railways or canals, opening schools, etc.), it has nothing to do with law, even if the rules regarding the said matters are enacted by legislature ; because here the relations of the state are to its organs, and, therefore, within the state. Hence out of these relations, no occasion for conflicting interests (and consequently for law) will arise. In such cases, the rules made by the State are regarded as " Acts of Administration "[3] (and not as laws). If, however, the state comes in relation with a person outside the state organisation (or, if, being a member of the State organisation, the person comes in relation with the state not as such member), conflicting interests may arise, giving rise to laws to regulate them. But in a communistic state, in which every individual is merged, the state is the sole party—a fact which precludes the possibility of conflicting interests (and consequently of law). The rules made by such a state are regarded as Administrative Acts, the violators whereof can be dealt with only by doctors, by pedagogues, by executioners, by all sorts

[1] Organ of the Institute of Soviet Construction and Law of Communist Academy.
[2] Author of ' Legal Theory and Marxism.'
[3] ' Soviet Jurisprudence and Socialism ' (S. Dobrin)—*L. Q. R.*, 1936, July.

of specialists, but not by lawyers in the Marxian sense. Hence, according to socialist theory, while proletarian state (organised on democratic lines) may not disappear until the establishment of socialism all around, law will cease to exist on establishment of socialism within the state, although the aforesaid Administrative Acts of the state will be erroneously described by some as its "laws."

To the aforesaid doctrine, the doctrine of fascism (founded by Mussolini) presents a striking contrast. Fascism agrees with the view that in the struggle for existence, only the fittest will survive. Struggle is the test of strength; fitness in a struggle implies strength to win it. Fascism claims to be the sole generator of this strength.

Men, says fascism, are gregarious; the people, distinguished from others by common descent, language or institutions, generally live together, and form a nation. Mussolini follows Otto Von Gierke by holding that state is the personification of such people. The strength of the state, implying the strength of the nation, presupposes the united strength of the people composing the nation. This united strength has to be secured by eradication of class-conflict,[1] and developed in quantity by increasing the propagation to be settled upon territories belonging to non-fascist, hence weak, states which can have no place under the sun. Such settlement has to be done by means of war which presupposes a high quality of strength that makes it effective in action. The securing and development of the strength of the state requires the lead of a strong man—head and shoulders above others—who calls up the fullest strength by convincing the nation that such strength was possessed by it (and led it to pre-eminence) and, therefore, will be possessed by it resulting in its greatness again.

1. The first stage of fascism, therefore, begins with the proclamation, by the leader, of the national greatness, (which presupposes strength). As Italy in the country where fascism has been put into practice by its founder, we confine ourselves to that country. In 1843, of course, Vinunzo Gioberti proclaimed the primacy of the Italian destiny—from the greatness of the Roman Empire (obscured for a time after its fall), through the power of Catholic Church and Holy Roman Empire (obscured again), to the potential greatness re-establishing European civilization. But Mussolini, the Duce, gave a Hegelian

[1] *Cf.* Portuguese decree, establishing a supreme economic council, Collecçao de Legislacao Portuguesa, 1931, 937-47, 945.

interpretation to whole history by making the greatness of the Italian people into the idea which is struggling to realise itself in history and unfolding inevitably. (As national greatness depended on national strength, the aim of fascism was to strengthen the nation (hence state) to the fullest extent (while communism aimed at dissolving the state).) The position taken by Rousseau was reversed; the state was not regarded as an instrument for the conservation of individuals and to assist them to achieve their ends; on the contrary, the individuals became a means, an instrument of the life and strength of the state.

2. The second stage is that of securing the strength of the state by the achievement of national unity. Mazzini formulated the idea that the Italian nation was one and indivisible; but his method (*viz.* democratic form of government), whereby each state might develop its individual characteristics and which influenced President Wilson in formulating his doctrine (of self-determination of nations),[1] was, according to fascism, ill-suited to achieve Italian national unity. It was Mussolini who not only asserted the continuous identity and organic unity of the Italian people (past, present, and future) but also sought to achieve the national unity by eradication of class-conflict. (Socialism, which advocated the ending of class-conflict by the abolition of the capitalist class, found Mussolini as its follower in his early career. But he soon differed from Marx and Proudhon who sought to apply this remedy (for ending the class-conflict) to whole human society.) (Mussolini's object was the unity of Italian nation; if socialism were to be adopted to fulfil this object, socialism must be national. But socialisn aimed at the destruction of the capitalists by organising the working-class as a whole; to Mussolini, the immediate task seemed to be the organisation of workers belonging to each branch of economic activity. This attitude led him to syndicalism, a doctrine (founded by Blanqui and Lasalle, and given systematic expression to by Sorel in France) aiming at the organisation of society around unions of workers bound together by ties of same economic activity, these unions (called trade unions) being regarded as the living cells of a healthy society. These unions, which had been protecting and promoting the common rights, privileges and interests of the workers (with respect to wages, hours of labour, customs etc,), were to fulfil the said aim by getting the means of production

[1] Prof. Gaetano Galvemini in 'Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.'

transferred from their capitalist owners to the unions themselves (in whose hands, therefore, both political and economic power was to be concentrated), so that there would be an end to class-conflicts, the capitalists in every branch of economic activity being abolished.)

Mussolini soon found that the classes representing all the factors of production (*viz.*, employers representing capital, and employees representing labour) were at one in their admission that the economic well-being of the individual human being was the ultimate objective of social organisation; they differed in their opinion as to the method, the employers believing in minimum, and the employees in maximum, collective action. To Mussolini, therefore, the two classes appeared to be only superficially antagonistic. They, thought he, were really inter-dependent; and if only each were to do its duty (without going against the other), the result would be a social solidarity—a doctrine of Léon Duguit for which the latter had been influenced by the sociologist Durkheim and which evoked little enthusiasm from the advocates of socialism.[1] Mussolini, therefore, left the syndicalist movement intending to bring about synthesis between the two classes by giving following among other guarantees to—

(*i*) Employees: Additional pay for over-time, provision for weekly rest days, annual vacation with pay, compensation for wrongful dismissal, state control of unemployment offices, improvement of insurance against involuntary unemployment, perfection of accident insurance, insurance against occasional illness and tuberculosis as an introduction to a system of general health insurance, extension of maternity insurance, adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.)

(*ii*) Employers: Consequence of crisis in production and in monetary phenomena must be divided equally among all factors of production.[2])

(It was necessary, in his opinion, to create highly organised employees' syndicates to each of which would be associated corresponding employers' organisation (with guarantees as above), the two together making up an economic unit, called corporation, which would have the function of controlling both the employers and the employees. These corporations, representing all the branches of

[1] *L. Q. R.*, Vol. 43, p. 168.
[2] Italian Labour Charter.

entire economic activity within the state, would thus abolish class-conflicts—fascist method of abolishing class-conflict being thus completely opposed to the method of socialism. To achieve national unity, therefore, the de facto leader had to wield and exercise the necessary power by becoming also the de-jure head of the state—the reason leading to Fascist revolution and personal dictatorship (proletarian dictatorship being connected with Soviet Revolution). After accession to power, the dictator—Il Duce—achieved national unity by organising the state on the basis of the corporations which became parts of state machinery; and the state (known as corporative state), by its supervision of corporations as state organs, controlled all the economic activities within it. Thus corporations (like soviets) represented fundamentally the mutual interpermeation of political and economic structure. Thus in Italy (as in Soviet Russia) the state has assumed two outstanding roles:—

(*i*) Rôle of master of economic household, assigning to each member its place and controlling the conduct of each to the supposed end of economic efficiency.

(*ii*) Rôle of patron, lending to the struggle for economic efficiency the encouragement and active assistance of social control through rules made by it.[3]

On the corporations, was based the representation of people in the government, the machinery of fascist state consisting of a hierarchy of officials culminating in one man—the Duce—who was a superior being (reminiscent of the ideal prince of Machiavelli) wielding the entire power of the state.

3. The third stage is the fullest development of the strength of the state. Development in quantity was achieved by the increase of propagation, which was encouraged by bounties, etc. To develop

[3] The same is the case with Germany under Nazism, a doctrine founded by Hitler. In this doctrine (akin to fascism) we find the same philosophy of strong state with a strong man—the Fuehrer—the superman of Nietzsche—at its helm; we find similar assertion regarding the greatness of the German people, they (the cream of the Aryan race, the superior and creative section of mankind) being destined to dominate the world. German greatness demanded, moreover, the elimination of Jewish element; for according to Nazism, the Jews not only were a menace to German racial purity but also (having no state of their own) thrived (like parasites) on others, worked for their own gain, but did not cast in their lot with the nations they lived with. Here also we find similar unification of people due to eradication of class-conflict by means of economic arrangement, similar begetting by women of as many children as possible and same vigorous drive for territory. A little difference between Nazism and Fascism lies in the fact that while Nazism is inconsistent with monarchy, fascism is not so—the real ruler Mussolini being responsible accidentally, and in name only, to the Crown which is powerless; but according to both the doctrines, the leader (Hitler, Mussolini) is to choose and name his successors.

the high quality of the strength which would make it effective in war (by means of which the territories belonging to non-fascist states could be conquered so that the increased population could be settled upon those territories), Mussolini took the stand that the lives of individuals must be moulded by exigencies of war-like situation. Thus fascism built the nation for war (while socialism aimed at ending it).

Fascism agrees with Austin's view that law is the will of the sovereign. But the 'Sovereign', according to fascism, is the leader—the man at the head of the Fascist hierarchy (which is a hierarchy of persons, and not of Kelsenian norms); he is sovereign, because he is free from responsibility to the people or its elected representatives. The decrees of Il Duce have the force of law and need not be laid before the legislature for two years after promulgation. Law-making even of the reformed legislature is subordinated to his law-making power.

Fascism agrees with Savigny's doctrine of intimate relationship between the Geist of a nation and its law. Hence law, *i.e.*, the will of the leader, is vitally concerned with the idea of national greatness which is asserted by him to be struggling to realise itself in history. And as this greatness is proclaimed (at the first stage of the fascist movement) to depend on strength, law (under fascism) is only a means of maintaining and advancing the strength of the state.

Strength lying in national unity (which is sought to be achieved at the second stage), law serves as a machine to enforce this unity by enjoining compulsory judicial settlement of labour disputes. Development of the national strength (at the third stage) being for the ultimate purpose of war, law (under facism), says Schneider, is modelled on army patterns. [1]

So, while Austinian theory of law has nothing to do with the ends and purposes of state activity, it is impossible to separate the fascist theory of law from the theory of the strong state.

[1] *Cf.* Italian Code of Criminal Procedure.

VOCATIONAL TESTING—ITS TECHNIQUE

SACHINDRA PROSAD GHOSH, M.A.

MEANING OF VOCATIONAL TESTING

ONE man's meat may prove to be another man's poison. There are few persons who have talent for all jobs and there are many who have none at all. This consideration of individual variation makes one appreciate the necessity of Vocational Guidance. The aim of Vocational Guidance is to predict the future career of an individual ; but this prediction admits no room for the mysterious. Like every natural science it is based on observations and the Vocational adviser makes use of a battery of tests as instrumental to his observations for eliciting some information about his subject. The word test may be used in two senses. It may mean the test material as well as the process of testing. A test in its true psychological sense means the process of testing, and not a mere test material. A test is a controlled situation the operation of which involves the use of test materials but it is not the materials themselves. The materials can only supplement a psychological test but they cannot supplant it; and so the business of a Vocational adviser does not end only with their uses. His interest is deeper, it is psychological and here lies a tool-user's art.

DESCRIPTION OF VORATIONAL TESTS

The batteries of tests subserving vocational purposes are mainly built on a seven point scale. The vocational adviser in every one of his cases should investigate the following seven points: The individual's (I) Social Circumstances ; (II) Financial Position ; (III) Physical Make-up; (IV) General Intelligence ; (V) Special Aptitudes ; (VI) Interests ; (VII) Disposition. Of these only General Intelligence, Special Abilities and Temperamental Traits are studied widely. To study general intelligence of an individual two types of tests are used (*i*) Concrete Intelligence Tests, (*ii*) Abstract Intelligence Tests. Concrete Intelligence Tests (Performance tests) aim at measuring general intelligence of an individual as displayed in solving some concrete situations. Abstract Intelligence Tests on the other hand are intended

to measure an individual's general intelligence as it is displayed in the field of thoughts and ideas.

Concrete intelligence tests are many in number of which *Passalong, Cube-construction, Block-design* and *Formboard* are in wide application:

(*i*) *Passalong Test*:—The subject is given a box one edge of which is coloured red and the other blue. The box contains a number of small blocks, some of which are coloured red and the rest blue. The blocks dyed blue are arranged along the red edge of the box and the red blocks along the blue edge according to a definite plan. The subject is asked to move the red blocks to the red edge and the blue ones to the blue edge passing them along and not lifting. Time determines the score and there are nine such problems according to the degree of difficulty.

(*ii*) *Cube Construction Test*:—The subject is given three coloured models of different types and a number of small cubes painted and un-painted. He is asked then to construct with those cubes three different models similar to the models given. The number of movements of the cubes and the time involved determine the score of the subject.

(*iii*) *Block-Design*:—This test consists of sixteen differently coloured blocks and ten coloured designs. The subject is to make these designs with the blocks as quickly as possible. The time factor determines the score and the designs vary according to the degree of complexity.

(*iv*) *Dearborn Formboard Test*:—This test comprises six different types of appertures (Square, Circular, Rectangular and so on) fitted with blocks. Some of these blocks are taken outside and the subject is asked to change the blocks in the board so as to make room for the extra blocks kept outside. The time as well as the number of moves determine the score. There are four such tests according to degree of difficulty.

To study abstract intelligence of an individual there are Binet-Simon tests revised by Terman and Merille and expressed in two forms called 'L' and 'M.' Binet had the idea that corresponding to physical age there should be a mental age which could also be measured. The physical age of an individual can be measured in terms of days, months and years, and the mental age, also, thought Binet, can be measured in similar way. Binet with this end in view prepared

some questionnaire with reference to every age group beginning from Year II to the superior adult III and standardised them. The questionnaire were concerning " Memory impressions," " Problem of Facts," " Reconciliation of Opposites " and so on. For the general survey only a few examples can be mentioned here in such a short treatise.

EXAMPLES

Problem of Facts:—" My neighbour has been having three queer visitors. First a doctor to his house, then a lawyer, then a minister (Preacher, Priest or Rabbi). What do you think happened there ?

(Age-Group. XIII).

(ii) Reconciliation of Opposites:—" Say in what way—' Heavy and Light ' " Long and Short are alike."

(Age-Group, Av. adult.)

(iii) Verbal Absurdities:—" What is foolish about that?—' The Judge said " You are to be hanged, and I hope it will be warning to you."

(Age-Group, XI).

Now a boy whose physical age is say five, will be considered to be mentally five provided he passes all the tests standardised for that age. The questionnaire though similar in nature were expressed in two forms ' L ' and ' M ' only to study their co-relation.

Of the two type of intelligence tests Binet-Simon tests claim to measure intelligence mathematically expressing it in terms of I. Q. The Binet-Simon test however has a difficulty of its own. The difficulty lies in the fact that it involves language and there being no universal language it cannot be applied universally. Even when the tests are translated into a foreigner's language their reliability is doubtful. On this point, concrete intelligence tests enjoy a special advantage over Binet-Simon tests. The difficulties of Binet tests can be mitigated to some extent by concrete intelligence tests as they do not involve any effective operation of language. But the concrete intelligence tests are unable to give us any mathematical concept of intelligence and we are still in a doubtful position as to whether they measure general intelligence or something alike to special ability. There are various tests to measure special abilities. *(i)* Stenquist's mechanical ability

test consisting of certain unassembled machinary parts measures an individuals' mechanical ability in putting them together. This test determines the subject's efficiency in Engineering. (*iv*) Cox and Crochet's Manual Ability Tests comprise some manual activities which require speed and steadiness. The aim of these tests is to determine a subject's manual dexterity and his proficiency in handicrafts like electroplating, engraving, carpentry and so on. (*iii*) Kelly's Constructional ability test in which the subject is to deal with a large number of materials out of which he can build a house, a bridge, a motor car, or an aeroplane as he likes, determines the subject's idea of design and ability of construction.

Tests of interests and disposition are in use but most of these are in a primitive state. There are tests like ' Extrovert aud Introvert ', ' Neurotic Questionnaire,' ' Subjective paired Words ' and ' Word Association Test ' every one of which aims to bring out some informations about the temperamental trait of the subject.

(*i*) *Extrovert and Introvert Test*:—consists of fifty questionnaire at the end of every one which there are ' yes,' and ' no ' and the subject in answering them is to mark ' yes ' or ' no ' accordingly as the questions are liked or disliked by him, *e,g.*, the subject is asked ' Know, life is for enjoyment,' and he marks 'yes' or 'no' as he likes or dislikes the idea. The aim of this test is to determine whether the subject is ' extravert ' or ' introvert.' that is, whether he is sociable or likes to live alone.

(*ii*) *Subjective paired Word Test*:—is made up of thirty pairs of questionnaire, every pair of which contain two contrary ideas marked 'A' and' B.' The subject is to mark ' A ' or ' B ' according to his liking. He is to mark ' A ' or ' B ' with double lines if the idea he thinks is excessively present in him. In case of doubt as to the presence of an idea, he simply marks the statement with interrogation, *e.g.*, ' Do you (*a*) like to mix with people or (*b*) live alone.' The subject marks (*a*) or (*b*) according to his liking. This test determines the testee's subjective peculiarity.

(*iii*) *The Neurotic Questionnaire Test*:—consists of sixty-four statements and the subject is to answer them in terms of ' Yes ' or ' No ' accordingly as they appear to be true or false with regard to his personality, *e.g.*, the subject is asked ' Do you ever speak in the sleep states and he says ' yes ' or ' no ' as he does or not. This test determines neurotic elements of the subject.

(iv) Word Association Test:—consists of hundred words. The subject is asked to listen to every word presented by the experimenter and responds as quickly as possible with the word that first comes to his mind. The time and the response word are noted by the experimenter. The experimenter says the stimulas word ' Ghost ' and the response given by the subject is say ' Life.' This test determines the unconscious mental make up of the subject. *e.g.*, his stability or unstability, subjectivity or objectivity, and so on.

Standardised tests of attainments are rarely used and they rest mainly on the records of school achievements. The information elicited from this test do not suffice by themselves. They should be supplemented by a method of interview and medical examination. Interview is an old method practised in offices and factories for selecting employees. The same purpose is subserved by interview in vocational guidance. The object of Intervew in vocational guidance is to know the personal, social and econamical status of the subject, for adjusting the test. results with vocational possibilities. The interviewer, however, should not teach but only learn the interviewed. His attitude should be one of neutrality.

Vocational Testing anb Job Analysis

The short description of vocational tests ends here and I think it will not be out of place to mention the relation of vocational tests and job-analysis in this connection. Some psychologists opine that vocational guidance is imperfect without job-analysis and they recommend selection tests for it. The job-analyst using his battery of selection tests prepared for a particular job can at best assure us whether the job in question does suit a man or not. The vocational adviser on the other hand is to know not only a particular type of abilities necessary for a job but all the possible types of abilities present in him; and to know all the possibilities of an individual by selection tests, he is to apply all the batteries of tests of all the jobs. This method of vocational guidance by the selection tests would no doubt make his guidance very accurate but the guidance of a single individual may require several years and it would then become more elaborate and expensive a process than psychoanalysis itself. Thus the implication of selection tests, though very great in vocational selection but the least in vocational guidance.

Precautions:—The vocational adviser equipped with the vocational tests described previously is to take some precautions before their practical application. The first and foremost precaution should be taken against test surroundings. The old class room is a better test ground than an ideal clinic unknown to the testee. The surrounding should be known and familiar and it being so the tester should pay his attention to the removal of psychological field forces. The presence of parents and teachers in a testroom is more objectionable than the presence of class-fellows. These personages have so long being certers of reference in the child's world that the child cannot free himself from the psychological field forces which they exert upon him. There is an imminent possibility of the child's reputations being disturbed and this frustrates his responses and finally the test results.

Second precaution should be taken against the misarrangements of the test materials. The test materials, *e.g.*, pictures of cats and dogs in intelligence tests and machinery parts in special ability test should be kept near at hand in an oderly way so that they may be applied instantly when needed without delay. The delay may jeopardise the rapport the love or confidence which the subject has developed for his examiner in course of testing and in its place the opposite trait hate and disgust may be evoked in him. In that case the mental setting of the subject is jeopardised and the test results with it.

The last precaution to be taken is with reference to the duration of testing. The duration of testing should not be too long. The total range of duration should not exceed eight hours and it is again to be divided in two or three days. No item of tests as found in a hot climate like that of Bengal can be continued for over an hour however interesting it may be and even short rest should be given within this period if necessary. The change of tests with reference to a particular subject should be done in such a way as to avoid monotony. The subject who has been answering for an hour questionnaire on memory and abstract ideas of general intelligence tests say of 'L' form cannot be expected to do good with the questionnaire of similar tests say of 'M' in immediate succession. His duty may be replaced by a mechanical or manual type of activity which is almost of a different kind and may thus avoid monotony. In fine all these precautions should be taken against boredom, fatigue and disgust, so that the subject may exert his maximum effort in co operating with the experimenter.

Technique

The first important technique of vocational testing is the rapport formation of the tester with the testee. The maximum amount of effort and enthusiasm cannot be expected from a subject in solving a problem unless he has developed some love or regard for the giver of the problem. The rapport may be formed with the subject after a preliminary talk, frequent smiles and jokes with the subject. But though rapport is essential for vocational testing yet too much rapport may vitiate the purpose indulging indifference in the testee to the tester. Again too much rapport may sometimes induce the tester to overestimate his testee which is surely a danger for merit estimation and against which a vocational adviser must always guard. The second important technique of vocational testing as advocated by some technicians is the strict adherence to the standard procedure. On the Psychometrical grounds they hold that instructions should be given in their original order and language in which they were standardised and should not be altered. Even slight alteration, omission or addition they think may distort the entire response of the subject.

The above view no doubt upholds the truth to some extent but not the whole truth and it cannot be followed up at every step. The application of test is more a subjective affair and can hardly be adhered to any objective criterion. It should always be done with an eye to the subject's attitude and temperamental disposition. Sometimes it has been found that an arm-chair dictation of instructions produces boredom in the subject and sterilises his understanding to grasp the meaning. So to be an efficient user of tests one need not be a slave of them but should administer them as a master. The beginners may be urged to pay close attention to the external conditions of tests, their order and pronouncements but we should remember at the same time that the standardisation of these conditions does not mean the standardisation of all conditions. There are other determinant factors like the subject's state of health, his attitude and interest which cannot so easily be controlled. I am glad to quote the statement of Prof. Allec Roger of National Institute of Industrial Psychology in support of my view. Prof. Roger says "A vigorous application of the rules for administering a certain test may tend to foster in one subject a proper attitude towards it, it

may upset other. An efficient giver of tests of general intelligence and special abilities is one who has learned how to adjust the test regulations in such a way that each subject will exibit his potentialities to the full; he is not one who has learned how to obey to the letter, the printed instructions." The best procedure I think will be possible from a compromise-formation. The instructions should not be given in a strict adherence to the printed letters, in an arm-chair order but in a way of conversation making the instructions intelligible to the subject. It is often wiser to change the order of presentation of Binet-Simon tests if the subject is found to be disgusted due to some external disturbances. If a subject is found to be failing to attend to such items as 'disgists' or 'ingenuity' of general intelligence tests the order may either be changed replacing the simpler and more interesting items or the subject should be given complete rest. Thus the modification of testing depends upon the psychological insight of the test giver and a correct result of testing is more dependant upon his insight than on the strict adherence to the test materials. The testing, therefore, I conclude is an art and may be modified according to practical requirements.

Conclusion

The tests cannot measure but only judge the psychological characteristics of an individual. This judgment, however, is not always secure from error and vocational guidance is not an infallible art. Nothing can be more fallacious than the belief that vocational tests can be used like an engineer's pressure gauge or voltmeter. One should not expect so much mathematical accuracy in vocational testing, because the stuff with which it deals is human being and human being is neither a logic nor a machine. The tests are not like keys because the human stuff cannot be set in a key. The exact fits are not to be expected but only the approximate ones.

The test results are to be considered with reference to the individual's whole personality and vocational guidance is thus more dependent on the adviser's insight.

A SCHEME OF FINANCING UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ASSAM

SAMARENDRANATH DAS, B.A., T.D. (CANTAB.), M.ED. (LEEDS), M.R.S.T., F.R.ECON.S. (LONDON).

INTRODUCTION

IT is a great pity that the educationists and others interested in education in India are concerned more with secondary and higher education than with all-important primary education. We rarely come across even topics on the national education. It cannot be denied that the educated class in India needs a wider outlook and more sympathetic attitude to the fundamental problem of educating the teeming millions steeped in abysmal ignorance and superstition. It really pains to notice the great apathy of the intelligentsia towards mass education. They must awaken and be alive to the fact that the salvation of India lies in educating their illiterate brethren by immediate introduction of a compulsory education on a sound basis.

Though the facts and figures in this article are taken from the province of Assam, I believe, the scheme as envisaged, with necessary modifications, may also be applicable to any other province.

Of the various grave educational problems in India, none is more important than finance. Indeed the problem of finance is fundamental and the solution of most other problems depends on the provision of increased resources. No doubt in recent years, the educational expenditures have grown rapidly even in Assam, but the problem is greatly complicated by the fact that only the foundations of the educational system have been laid. Only a fraction of the children of school-going-age are in schools. On the other hand, the present work of the school is anything but satisfactory. So, whenever additional money could be had, we are confronted with a dilemma. So long as the majority of children are denied the most elementary school privileges, it would be unfair to spend money only on improving

the standard of instruction, as very often suggested both in official and nonofficial quarters. The main problem which confronts the province, and for which there must be a solution, is how the educational system shall be satisfactorily financed in order to provide widely and speedily, and with as little waste as possible, adequate facilities for the dissemination of education among the great mass of the people. The total costs of education from all sources have been steadily increasing from Rs. 3,483,928 in 1922 to Rs. 5,738,134 in 1937, the sources of which were as follows [1] :—

	Rs.
Government Funds	3,126,157
Board Funds	759,990
Fees	1,151,670
Other sources	700,317
Total Rs.	5,738,134

But the following figures [2] show that the rate of increase is on the wane except for a slight improvement in the quinquennium 1932-37 :—

	Total Expenditure on education.	Increase during preceding five years.	Percentage
	Rs.	Rs.	
1917	25,59,290	950,228	37·1
1922	34,83,928	924,638	36·1
1927	43,84,150	901,222	25·8
1932	50,10,284	626,134	14·3
1937	57,38,134	727,850	14·5

The total amount spent on primary education increased over five times from Rs. 280,658 in 1902 to Rs. 1,462,012 in 1937. The following table[3] shows the total expenditure on primary education in 1937 from various sources :—

	Rs.
Government Funds...	9,28,113
Board Funds	3,16,509
Fees	1,012
Other sources	1,71,378
Total Rs.	1,462,012

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Assam for* 1932-37, p. 13.
[2] All the figures have been collected from the various *Quinquennial Review of Education in Assam.*
[3] *Q. R. Assam*, 1932-37, p. 42 and Appendix pp. 10-11.

Primary schools have been suffering severely from want of adequate funds. Much of what is being spent has been wasted in not bringing children to the point of permanent literacy.

The following figures show the distribution and percentages of total expenditure on education in Assam in 1937 among various items [1]:—

	Rs.	Per centage
Arts Colleges	484,418	8·4
Professional Colleges	13,637	0·2
Secondary Schools	2,090,984	36·4
Primary Schools	1,462,012	25·5
Training Schools	65,058	1·1
Other special Schools	153,895	2·7
Direction	94,862	1·7
Inspection	347,508	6·1
Buildings	364,760	6·4
Miscellaneous	661,000	11·5
Total Rs.	5,738,134	100

It is evident the system is top heavy, and in spite of recognising the great importance of primary education, the Government has not yet taken a practical step in realising this end.

It is interesting to compare these figures for Assam with those of England. The following table shows the Board of Education (England) estimates for 1939[2]:—

	£.	Percentage.
Administration	347,112	0.6
Inspection and Examination	347,444	0.6
Elementary Education	35,671,610	61.5
Higher Education	12,303,930	21.2
Pensions to Teachers	8,388,000	14.4
Aid to Students	241,400	0.41
Royal Colleges of Art	22,660	0.04
Victoria and Albert Museum	121,457	0.2
Science Museum	74,743	.1
Bethnel Green Museum	7,048	.01
Physical Training and Recreation	516,622	.89
Gross Total £	58,042,026	100

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[2] *Education*—(*The Official Organ of the Association of Education Committees*), Vol. LXXIII, No. 1888, March 17, 1939, p. 328

Thus in England only one third of what is allotted for primary education is set apart for higher education, whereas in Assam which is so backward in Education, the principle in allocating educational finance seems to work in the opposite direction. This is a state of affairs which calls for a bold policy and immediate action on the part of the Assam Government.

I. Estimated cost of financing a scheme of compulsory and free education for the whole of Assam

Various estimates as to the annual cost of educating a child during the primary stage have been made by different persons from time to time. As early as in the first decade of this century, Mr. Orange, the then Director-General of Education in India, calculated that the average cost of educating a child would be Rs. 5 annually. This was accepted as fairly correct by the late Mr. Gokhale.[1] The same figure of Rs. 5 was also worked out by some Christian Missionary educationists in the second decade.[2] According to the latest available official figures, the average annual cost per pupil in the primary school is Rs. 7-12-0 in the case of boys and Rs. 9-6-2 in the case of girls for the whole of British India. The following table[3] shows that there is wide disparity in the annual cost per head in the different provinces:—

Average Annual Cost per Pupil in Primary Schools (figures for 1935)

Province	Cost		
	Rs.	As.	P.
Bombay	16	8	3
North-West Frontier Provinces	12	13	2
Punjab	10	13	5
Central Provinces and Berar	10	5	2
Madras	8	6	2
United Provinces	7	7	2
Bihar and Orissa	6	0	5
Assam	4	9	7
Bengal	3	6	9
British India (including other areas)	7	15	8

The main reason for this variation is due to differences in the pay of primary school teachers in different provinces. In Assam the average monthly pay is about Rs. 13, whereas in Bombay it is as high

1 *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 675-76.
2 *Village Education in India*, p. 180.
3 *Education in India in 1934-35*, p. 12.

as Rs. 47. Since the pay of teachers will have to be considerably raised, the present figure cannot serve us as a proper guide. So also the high cost in other provinces cannot be taken as representative. The average figure for British India, which is Rs. 7-15-8, may, therefore, be taken as a fairly proper index.

This figure of Rs. 7-15-8 is bound to come down since the present system of primary education is expensive in many ways. As Sir George Anderson, in his Report on the Progress of education in the Punjab for 1925-26, said, compulsion is an economy.[1] Further, by limiting the duration of the primary course to four years, increasing the number of pupils per teacher, adopting the system of part-time instruction and travelling teachers, and by abolishing the small separate schools, meant for girls and for special communities, the cost of educating a child in India can be made lower than the present expenditure. We may, therefore, safely presume that it would come to about Rs. 6 instead of Rs. 7-15-8. But it must be remembered that this figure is only an estimate and does not include non-recurring expenditure that would be entailed in providing suitable school buildings and equipment.

If we reckon 12 per cent. of the population as of school age in Assam (British territory only) the number of children of both sexes under a compulsory scheme would be over 1058 lacs, the total population being 88.22 lacs according to the 1931 Census Report. But even under compulsion we cannot expect more than 80 per cent. to attend schools.[2] So the children to be brought under instruction in a scheme of compulsory primary education would be 8.48 lacs. Taking Rs. 6 as the average annual cost per pupil, the recurring expenditure would come to over 50 lacs of rupees.

Instead of this estimated requirement of 50 lacs of rupees, 14½ lacs are now being spent on primary education in Assam. Thus an additional amount of 35½ lacs would be required annually to finance a scheme of universal compulsory education. This is no doubt a prohibitive amount at present, but with a well-thought-out plan and programme spreading over a number of years, the goal of universal education may not be an impossible realisation.

Expenditure on primary education is of the first importance. Claims of primary education for the great bulk of the people should be given

[1] *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for 1925-26*, p. 13.
[2] *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 270.

priority, especially in view of the vast extension of the franchise as a result of the recent Government of India Act. The majority of the voters are illiterates. An illiterate democracy is, in fact, a grave danger to the stability of any society, and it is to the extension and consolidation of primary education, therefore, that the Government should necessarily direct its main efforts.

Secondary educational reconstruction should start from the very foundation. No satisfactory condition of higher education can be secured without a proper basis. It is upon the proper control, organisation, distribution and extension of the better system of primary education alone that a sound structure of higher and secondary education can be built. As Dr. Ghose rightly says, "The Indian education system is like a tree: it will bear good fruit at the top, only if it is well nourished at the roots." [1]

Moreover, at present a disproportionate amount is spent every year on institutions of higher learning which cater chiefly for the benefit of the intelligentsia and a small fraction is devoted to the spoon-feeding of primary education. The poorer classes are overwhelmingly illiterate but the middle classes are educated in a proportion equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are highly developed. The literary classes continue to have almost a monopoly of education and the claims of the masses are ignored. It is, therefore, essential to divert more funds towards the establishment of a sound system of primary education for all.

II. General problems associated with the financing of national education

Certain general considerations which lie outside strictly educational arguments may first be considered :—

(*a*) *Increased percentage of revenue for education.*

A glance at the Provincial Budget will show that the grant for primary education does not indicate any appreciable increase in spite of the fact that the imparting of free universal education occupies a foremost place in a backward country. At a time when more than 90 per cent. of the people in civilised and progressive countries of the east and the west are able to enjoy the fruits of education, 90 per cent. of the people of India are steeped in ignorance, illiteracy and superstition. The Government should make free and compulsory

[1] Quoted from the *Times Educational Supplement*, Saturday, Jany., 6, 1940 p. 8.

education the first charge on the provincial revenues, as education occupies a pre-eminent position among the nation building departments.

At present the Assam Government spends about 13 per cent. of its total revenue on education. This amount received from provincial revenues is hardly adequate to keep education above the starvation level. If primary education is to receive its due share either the percentage will have to be raised, or the total revenue will have to be increased, or the combination of the two may be necessary. Let us see what is being done in Assam to advance education. The following table gives us the facts [1] :—

	Total revenue in Assam in lacs.	Expenditure (in lacs). on education Government	Percentage of total revenue spent on education
1922	182	22	12·0
1927	243	25	10·2
1932	248	29	11·64
1937	253	33	12·99

The province of Assam now spends 13 per cent. on education which is an advance on the percentage of the previous two quinquenniums. The expenditure on education is also progressive. In 1927 the total educational expenditure amounted to 44 lacs of rupees,[1] whereas in 1937 it has risen to over 67 lacs. At the same time there had also been expansion in the provincial revenues, a fact which has a significant bearing on the financing of education. Assam had a total income of 253 lacs of rupees in 1937 which exceeded that of 1927 by 10 lacs and 1932 by 5 lacs. Thus it is evident that the province has expanding resources on which it can draw for additional revenues.

In the provinces of Madras, United Provinces and the Punjab, the percentage of Government expenditure on educaiton to the total expenditure varies between 15·74 and 16·89.[2] In view of the fact that this proportion in Assam is comparatively small, it should be

[1] *Harlog Committee Report*, pp. 253-54; *Progress of Education in India, 1927-32*, Vol. I, p. 20. The figures for 1937 are demands for grants as passed by the Legislative Council—See *Government of Assam : Detailed Estimates and Demands for Grants for 1936-37*, p. 6.

[2] *Q. R., Assam, 1922-27*, p 3

[3] *Progress of Education in India, 1937-32*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

raised. Then there will be a substantial increase in the funds available for education. Having regard to the gradual increase of its revenue on the one hand and the impoverishment which it suffers from illiteracy on the other hand, it would not be unreasonable to expect the Government to raise the percentage appreciably for the spread of education.

If this change take place, the province of Assam would no doubt suffer for a time, but the ultimate benefit would be out of proportion to the temporary difficulty. For if sound education is within the reach of the vast masses of the population, it will ensure great improvement in agriculture, expansion of trade and industry, and advancement in social conditions and personal habits. It is these developments that the province is badly in need of. So the Government should see to the fulfilment of their realisation.

(*b*) *New taxation and the diversion of a substantial portion of it to education.*

The Government should raise sums of money by means of new taxation and a certain percentage of this should be diverted to financing primary education. But in this connection it is important to keep in mind one principle which is very vital. Under the existing scheme of taxation a comparatively heavy burden falls on the poor. As the Late Mr. Gokhale repeated year after year in the old Imperial Legislative Council, " The upper and middle classes of the country contribute really much less to the Exchequer than our poor classes relatively to their resources." [1] There has been no change in the position since Mr. Gokhale uttered these words. It is, therefore, necessary that in any scheme of new taxation the poor should be left out and the new burden should be imposed on those who are capable of bearing it.

In our country there is indeed a rich class who can easily bear the weight of additional taxation. Referring to this, Mahatma Gandhi has aptly remarked, "No doubt there are ways and means for raising fresh taxation." Professors Shah and Khambatta have shown that even this poor country is capable of raising fresh taxation. " Riches have not yet been sufficiently taxed." [2] Legislative measures should be taken to make this attempt successful, and taxes like the

[1] *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 462-63.
[2] *Education Reconstruction*, Part I, p. 3.

following seem to offer the possibility of increasing the revenue without bearing hardly on the poor:—

1. Death-duties.
2. Turn-over Tax (tax imposed on the total sales of commocities during the year).
3. Tax on cross-word puzzles and similar competitions.
4. Tax on entertainments.
5. A special educational cess, if necessary.

(c) *Extension of a loan system to the building of new schools.*

In addition to the annual recurring expenditure, the State will have to spend money on the provision of new school buildings and equipment. Though it may not be possible to find all the money that is required for this within a short period, it will not be so difficult to accommodate the increasing number of children, if a carefully worked out programme covering a number of years is undertaken with all seriousness. Such a plan should be financed by borrowing the required sums of money, if it could not be found in other ways.

At present the deficit in the provincial budget is covered by a loan from the Provincial Fund.[1] Industrial and Agricultural loans are often advanced by the Government.[2] Moreover, the Government also grants substantial loans to local bodies for water works, improvement of communications, etc.[3] This loan system should also be extended to the building of new schools because of the great importance and urgency of popular education in the field of nation building work.

It may be of interest to observe in this connection that even in a prosperous and advanced country like England new schools are built by means of 50 year loans repayable by a sinking fund which amounts to about 5 per cent. annually for interest and capital.

Under Section 163 of the Government of India Act, 1935,[4] the Provincial Governments possess the right of borrowing. It is true that this right is restricted in the sense that those provinces which owe any debt to the Governmeut of India are not free to borrow without the latter's permission which can only be obtained for the

1 *Report on the Administration of Assam for the year* 1936-37, p. v.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. iv and 5.
3 *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 13; 1935-36, p. iii, 1934-35, p. 17.
4 *Government of India Act*, 1935 (26 Geo. V, Ch. 2), pp. 103-4.

purposes and on conditions approved by the Government of India. But it may be assumed that the Government of India will agree if a Provincial Government proposes to make a loan in connection with education. Moreover, it is made clear in the Act that, the consent required " shall not be unreasonably withheld."[1]

Money spent on primary school buildings will not be a waste. The children who will receive instruction in those buildings will form our greatest national asset. Money expended on education is more than a business proposition. It is the only national investment which is sure of a large and ever increasing return.

(*d*) *Imperial Grant for Education*:

The Hartog Committee refused " to accept the view that it (the Central Government) should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education," especially in the case of any province finding itself " unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose."[2] For the Central Government " is concerned directly with the educational qualifications of the electorates of the legislatures and is therefore interested in taking steps to ensure that there should be compulsory primary education throughout India at the earliest possible moment."[3] Assam is particularly backward in meeting developing expenditure for education. During 1927-32 a number of schemes for introducing compulsory education in certain areas in Assam were prepared and submitted to the Government by their local bodies, but were postponed for lack of funds.[4] It is, therefore, desirable to try by representation to the Central Government to get a direct subsidy for the *specific* purpose of compulsory primary education. Moreover, in 1936-37 the Government of India contributed a large grant to the Assam Government for economic dovelopment and improvement of rural areas.[5] So we can hope that the Imperial Government would come to the aid of a poor province like Assam in solving the knotty problem of financing universal education.

(*e*) *The expectation that a better system of education would lead to greater financial and social condition of the people.*

The problem of India is the great task of rural reconstruction and development of the village life as a whole, in all respects—specially,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
2 *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 346.
3 *Ibid.*, p, 278.
4 *Quinquennial Review of Assam*, 1927-32, p. 127.
5 *Report on the Administration of Assam*, 1936-37, Part I, p. v.

culturally and economically, and from the point of view of sanitation and health.

Education should be the foundation upon which the whole structure of reconstruction work is to be built. For any work to be permanent the beginning must be made with the children. The laws of sanitation and hygiene, the benefits from co-operation, the evils of the caste system, and the stupidity of some of the religious and social customs, cannot be properly understood by the old generation, who have been accustomed to different ways of life and thinking. The problems can be effectively approached through the sound education of children.

School efficiency is of vital importance to the rural welfare. The Linlithgow Commission has rightly pointed out that the future of the agriculturist more than that of any other worker is "dependent upon his own skill and judgment, and in no profession is the possession of a sound elementary education more likely to prove of commercial advantage ..... Without a satisfactory all-round advance in primary education, there can be little hope of any wide spread economic progress."[1] The above statement is applicable more to Assam than any other province where 97 per cent. of the population live in rural areas and over 82 per cent. is dependent upon some form of agriculture.

The probable result of an effective education is the improvement of the economic and social welfare of the people, who will then be in a better position to pay educational taxes. It has been proved in other countries that the right type of education is bound to increase the prosperity of the people, and more than compensate the Government for its expenditure on education. "The example of Japan proves conclusively how much can be achieved within a short time in the way of advancing national prosperity, where every effort is made to develop first of all primary schools for all the people."[2]

(f) Explanation of the financial consequence of a compulsory system.

Primary education cannot be adequately financed until a large measure of compulsion is introduced and strenuous effort is made to realise the objective of universal compulsory system of education. Because of the increased number of pupils, it is in fact more

[1] *Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1928, p. 573.
[2] *Waller M. Kotschnig, Unemployment in the Learned Professions*, p. 322.

economical to run since it reduces the average cost per pupil, besides promoting more efficiently the general well-being of the country.

Under the voluntary system of school attendance over 60 per cent. of the public funds on primary education is being thrown away. This is an aspect of the matter which should no longer be overlooked. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India made a calculation of the cost of rendering a pupil literate under the present voluntary system. According to this, the cost of every pupil rendered literate was Rs 90.[1] Now let us see what would have been the cost under a system which compelled every pupil to attend school for four years and did not allow him to spend a year or two and then leave. Arthur Mayhew estimates that under compulsion "the cost per literate, reckoned on teachers' salaries alone, would be Rs. 60"[2] taking Rs. 31 per month as the average pay of teachers. Thus we see compulsion would affect a saving of over 30 per cent. of the present average cost of primary education for a boy. If the education of girls were taken into account the saving per capita would certainly be much larger, for the wastage there is more appalling.

III. Educational Considerations

In addition to the general and national problems already indicated there are also certain financial problems which lie within the educational system itself:

(a) *The allocations of educational funds.*

At present education in Assam is suffering greatly from a lack of definite principles in regulating the systematic allocation of funds, so that increase of funds by itself will not bring the desired improvement. Not only is it necessary for the Government to fix the percentage of its revenues to be devoted to the spread of education but also the percentage of that amount which it intends to allocate to each particular stage of education. The State will thus be in a position to exercise the measure of control which the situation demands. There is at present great disparity in the proportion of expenditure on primary and secondary education.

It is to be regretted that there exists a very marked difference between the percentages of expenditure on primary education in India

1 *Progress of Education in India*, 1922-21, Vol. I, p. 125.
2 Arthur Mayhew *The Education of India*, p. 286.

and in other countries. The following figures for a few countries show that the usual allocation for primary education is about two-thirds to three-fourths of the total expenditure on education.

Percentage of expenditure on primary education :[1]

Country.	Percentage of Primary education.
England	68·2
North Ireland	67·4
Irish Free State	73·9
New Zeland	62·1
Australia :—	
New South Wales	70·8
Victoria	67·3
Queensland	78·4
South Australia	59·8
Western Australia	79·4
Tasmania	72·4

The corresponding percentage for British India was only 33·9 during the year 1936.[2] But in Bombay more than 62 per cent.[3] is spent on primary education while in Assam it is as low as 25·5 per cent. One may raise the question whether Bombay has reaped the benefits of increased expenditure on primary education. Bombay is said to be a "province with a good statistical record."[4] That the greater expenditure has already yielded a corresponding greater return in education value in that province is justified by the fact that between 1935 and 1936 in Bombay the out-put of literates has risen from 41 (out of 100 pupils in class I in 1932, only 41 were in class IV in 1935) to 45 while in Assam the percentage has increased from 37 in 1931-32 to 38 in 1935-36.[5]

No doubt the improvement and expansion of education depend on money provided a well-directed policy is carried out side by side by competent bodies determined to eliminate waste of all kinds.

If we are really serious about removing the colossal illiteracy from the province within a reasonable period of time it is essential that the proportion should be appreciably raised, say, to 50 per cent.

[1] This table has been prepared from the figures given in the *Year Book of Education*, 1937.
[2] Education in India, 1935-36, p. 12.
[3] Education in India, 1934-35, p. 13.
[4] Progress of Education in India, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 140.
[5] Education in India in 1935-36, pp. 39-40.

Then a step would have been taken towards recognising the proper place of primary education in the educational system. The province will then have at her disposal double the present amount to spend on national education.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that the Government of Assam has declared that "the proportion of funds to be allotted to primary education will.....be one of the most important questions before future Governments." [1]

(b) Decentralisation of secondary education.

The main expenditure in the realm of higher general education occurs in connection with the Government's own institutions. Thus the Government is bearing 74 per cent. of the cost of education in Government high schools and 67 per cent. of the cost of education in Government colleges.[2] The poor tax-payer is thus contributing three-quarters of the expenditure on education for the children of the well-to-do classes. This will be clear if we look at the figures.[3] We are at once struck by the huge amounts which the Government of Assam spends on its own secondary schools. And the allocation of provincial funds to non-government agencies is no less striking.

The following table gives us the main facts.

1937			DIRECT EXPENDITURE FROM					
Kind of secondary schools.	No of institutions.	No. of pupils.	Govt funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	Total.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government	46	15,004	6 23,120	—	—	1,82,964	495	8,06 579
Board & Municipality	218	33,997	50,072	17,7029	22,606	30,074	1,696	2,81,477
Aided	224	30,145	2,22,864	22,914	17,531	3,12,747	68,716	6,44,772

Thus it is evident that the average annual expenditure on a pupil in a Government secondary school is about four times that of a pupil in a school under non-Government management. These figures also show that over 6 lacs of rupees of the tax-payers' money educate 15,000 pupils if they are in Government secondary institutions and less than half that amount, or about Rs. 3 lacs is spent on 64,000 if

1 Q.R., Assam, 1932-37, p. 83
2 *Ibid*, p. 76.
3 Collected from Q.R., Assam, 1932-37, Appendix, pp. 32-45.

they attend secondary schools other than those of the Government. If all the pupils who are in secondary schools would attend schools under non-management the cost to the tax-payer would be greatly reduced. Thus in connection with secondary education a substantial saving could be effected, without lowering the standard, by the transfer of management from Government to non-Government bodies, under which there are many efficient institutions. The educational system would still be able to provide proper facilities for secondary education and at the same time the huge sums thus released would be available for primary education. Of course if the economies proposed resulted in a lower educational standard and poorer provisions for education, they would be the very reverse of savings. But when we consider the matter from this point of view it resolves itself into a question of control. If the Government supplies the control which encourages only those institutions that are of the right types and effectually discourages those that are of a different nature, there is no reason why transfer of management should cause any deterioration. For the change of management will relieve the Government of much that now embarrasses it, and will enable the Government to give to education a control which it has not yet at any time received, and the beneficial result will be seen in every branch of the system. If this real control manifest itself in strong financial support of institutions with power and efficiency, then it will be seen that the non-Government agencies are not slow to respond to the stimulus which the Government extends. New funds will be available and fresh sources of local and private benevolence will be tapped. With the right control there will be right management.

The Government adheres to the policy of managing colleges and secondary schools to serve as ' models '. But both on educational and financial grounds the term model is misplaced when it is given to Government schools alone. It is claimed, by acting as a Manager, the Government is able to supply the educational system with schools and colleges that are models. And in this way, the state is in a position to exercise control. But the control which the State can effect by management is obviously limited, because the number of institutions under its management is insignificant, and because, quite apart from other considerations, any large increase of such institutions would make demands on the financial resources of the State that would be the death-knell to further progress. Again if it be argued that

a high educational standard is set by these institutions so that the influence of them is felt beyond the area in which they are situated, it may be replied that it is futile for the State to set a high standard for other schools and colleges to follow unless it also sees to it that these schools and colleges are given ample provisions whereby that standard may be in them normally reached. Further it treats the education of to day as if it were identical with that of fifty years ago. And these fifty years have brought striking changes both in the growth of institutions and in a clearer perception of the educational aims of the State. The province now possesses a number of efficient institutions under non-government management. These institutions exercise a wide influence, they educate numerous pupils, and some of them maintain a high educational standard. The present urgent need for the State is to see that every institution is receiving encouragement from it and that it may develop as speedily as possible into a model school or college. It is a demand for effective control by the State.

Inspite of the great urgency of expansion of primary education the State is spending more and more on higher and secondary education (about 45 per cent. of the total expenditure) at the expense of primary education. In fact the following figures [1] show that the percentage spent on primary education is gradually diminishing year by year while that on secondary education is on the increase.

Percentage of total expenditure in	1902.	1912.	1922.	1932	1937.
Secondary Schools	29·1	23·7	31·2	35·8	36·4
Primary Schools	35·1	32·6	26·2	26·7	25·5

Thus the difference is growing year by year on account of the inequitable allocation of Government funds. When only 9 per cent of the population in Assam is literate, the necessity for an increased provision for primary education needs no emphasis.

It is for a narrowly extended privilege that the tax-payer is being unfairly called upon to pay so much, on the otherhand the unemployment problem amongst the educated men in Assam is getting more and more serious. Mr. Small, Director of Public Instruction in Assam, calls the attention of the Government for this very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and asks for immediate action. He pleads for making secondary and higher education self-supporting, by increasing the fees, and suggests that there should be adequate provision for poor children

[1] Q. R. Assam, 1927-32, p. 9

of real merit to get such financial help from the Government that no child of real ability is debarred from higher education on account of poverty. This measure will not only mean a great saving of expenditure that can be profitably utilised for primary education but also check the present growing problem of unemployment among the educated classes.[1] He concluded by saying that " If the people of Assam want free and compulsory primary education, as I believe they do, then, unless Government can discover a gold-mine somewhere in the Province, the parents of average children, who want secondary or higher education for those children, must be prepared to pay for it as similar parents in other parts of the world have to pay." [2]

It may be interesting to point out here that the English Government in the crisis of 1931 felt compelled to decrease the expenditure on secondary education and did so by raising school fees. But the scholarship-holders were not penalised ; if their parents' income fell below a certain amount they were still-free, and there was a scale of fees in conformity with the father's income.

(c) *The possibility of increased revenue from private sources* :

The Government should continue to encourage private enterprises in public education by means of grants-in-aid. The principles laid down in the famous educational Despatch of 1854 are still applicable and sound. The co-operation of voluntary bodies in educational work truly advances public welfare. Mr. Statham in his 1927 report on Education in Madras put forward these reasons for increasing the rate of teaching grants :—

(1) " a programme of expansion cannot be completed without the use of aided agencies ;

(2) aided schools should not be treated with markedly less liberality than other schools ; and

(3) under-paid teachers are ultimately wasteful as they are inefficient and ineffective." [3]

In order to minimise the inefficiency it is essential to modify the provisions. The granting of aid may depend on the qualification of teachers, sanitary surroundings, buildings, etc.

1 Q. R. Assam, 1932-37, pp. 82-86.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
3 Report on Madras Education, 1927, p. 24.

Attempts should be directed towards the provision of more local support for primary education without curtailing the grants from provincial revenues and local bodies. As in many parts of Assam the people are unwilling and unable to pay an additional cess for education, more familiar means for increasing the financial resources of primary schools may be exploited. The villagers should be encouraged to make voluntary contribution of money or farm produce, and to unite in offering their labour in the building and repairing of school houses.

(*d*) *Better utilisation of present expenditure.*

The present system of primary education is not only defective but also extravagant. The Hartog Committee has referred to the huge wastage of money and effort in primary education. They calculated that in British India about 60 per cent. of the total expenditure on primary education during the period 1922-23 to 1925-26 had been wasted.[1] It has been reported recently that in India "about 73 per cent. of the money now spent on primary education may be regarded as sheer waste. If this waste could be prevented, the funds at present available would obviously suffice for a great extension."[2] Even if we cannot accept so devasting a verdict of waste, in as much as it is possible to argue that failure to pass from one class to another does not prove that there has been no benefit, it is clear that these results do suggest a degree of waste which the administrators must attempt to reduce. In Assam in primary schools for boys the comparative figure is 62 per cent.[3] and in case of girls 75 per cent.[4] It is high time for the State to check this appalling wastage of public money, and consequently to make money spent on primary schools educationally more productive, by the adoption of such measures as: introducing compulsory attendance, minimising wastage and stagnation and providing adequate facilities for training and supervision that are essential for efficient teaching.

1 Hartog Committee Report, p. 48.
2 Education in India, 1935-36, p. 45.
3 *Ibid.* pp. 39 and 60.
4 *Ibid.*

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Allahabad University Convocation

Dr. Panna Lall, I. C. S., Adviser to the Governor, United Provinces, will, it is announced, deliver the Convocation address at the Allahabad University Convocation this year on November 15.

Andhra University

The Central Government have granted recognition to the M.B.B.S. degree of the Andhra University as a recognised medical qualification with retrospective effect, according to a communication to the press from the Registrar of the Andhra University.

Hindu University to Celebrate Silver Jubilee

It is understood the Silver Jubilee of the Benares Hindu University will be held at the time of the Basant Panchmi festival.

University for Sind

The establishment of a full-fledged University for Sind has been recommended by the Sind University Committee appointed by the Government of Sind, under the chairmanship of the Speaker, Mr. Miran Mohd. Shah, to investigate the possiblities of establishing a separate University for Sind.

The Committee, which consists of sixteen members, has been engaged in the work for several months past and its representatives had toured several universities for first-hand knowledge of their working. The Committee appears to have agreed on all main points concerning the organisation and functioning of a separate University for Sind.

The proposed University will be both a teaching and affiliating body. It is recommended that the University shall have full control over the Matriculation examination and over secondary education. Technical and technological courses and higher researches as well as the cultural needs of the Province will have special attention from the University. Vocational bias is also recommended to be introduced in the pre-Matric classes. English may not be a compulsory subject for History and Arts college students. The Committee is also understood to have suggested orientation of history books in colleges and schools by eliminating controversial and communal prejudices and emphasising the unity and integrity of India as a whole, while in European History, emphasis is to be laid more on the development of institutions like democracy, socialism and even dictatorship than on details of wars and chronological perplexities.

Higher Studies for Indian Blind Students

Indian students will now have the opportunity of prosecuting higher studies and practical training, in the education of those who are visually handicapped, to certain universities and colleges in England and America.

Scholars, who will be selected for such higher studies will, in each case, receive a stipend of Rs. 4,000 annually from the university concerned.

Mr. A. Shah, organiser of the All-India Association for the Welfare of the Blind, recently got himself in touch with the authorities of the Columbia, Harvard and California Universities in America, the London University in England and the Honolulu University in the Philippine Islands, and with the help of Dr. M. E. Frampton, leading educator of the blind in America, he has now been able to secure for Indian students the privilege of being deputed to these universities for carrying on higher studies in the education of the visually handicapped.

Mr. Shah has also approached all the forty institutions and organisations for the blind in India.

Board of Education in Bengal

The Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education for the Dacca University, which was appointed in 1921 on a temporary basis pending the establishment of a statutory provincial board, has been reconstituted by the Government of Bengal for a further term of one year from August 1, 1941, with Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, as Chairman.

The Board consists of 37 members who include representatives of the Dacca University and of its various constituents, as also of the University of Calcutta.

Adult Education in Madura

A meeting of those interested in the promotion of adult education was held recently when it was decided to start the Madura District Adult Education Association.

Mr. T. J. R. Gopal, General Secretary of the South Indian Adult Education Campaign, spoke explaining that the object of the movement was the advancement of 92 per cent. of the people, who were illiterate. He referred to the keen interest which the late Congress Government evinced in this direction and contrasted the attitude of suspicion adopted by the present Government towards this movement, as was evident from a recent Government Order.

Adult Education Camps

The General Secretary, Andhra Provincial Students' Federation, in the course of a memorandum addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, urges withdrawal of the Government Order of June 13 last requiring a licence for running adult education classes by private organisations. He says that it is an unwarranted attack on the liberty of people for social service and on the birth-right of people to attain literacy and minimum knowledge of the world to live as decent human beings. He

refutes the allegation that adult education classes are instruments of spreading communism. He challenges the Government to prove any single item of the Adult Education syllabus to be either prejudicial or proscribable, and to come out with a single instance where Communist politics have ever crept into their Adult Education Camp or Campaign.

Reform of Sanskrit Education : Views on Bhagwan Das Committee Report

At a meeting, held recently, of the teachers and students of the Syamanand Vidyalaya, Benares, the following resolutions were passed on the Bhagwan Das Committee Report on Sanskrit Education :—

The meeting was of the opinion that the ideals and aims on which the report was based were highly praiseworthy. The increase in examination fees recommended by the Committee was sure to affect adversely the spread of Sanskrit education and was not at all desirable.

From the point of view of the many financially poor Sanskrit Pathshalas in the province who could ill afford to arrange for instruction in general subjects, it would be desirable that the teaching of History, Arithmetic, Hindi and other non-Sanskrit subjects, however useful, should be made only optional and not compulsory, at least for the time being.

The Acharya Examination should consist of three parts as heretofore and not of two parts as recommended by the report, otherwise it was likely to affect adversely Sanskrit studies owing to the fact that there would be too many works to be studied in two years' time. But the meeting was wholly in favour of having three parts instead of four for the Madhyama Examination as recommended by the report.

The meeting wholly supported the introduction of (*a*) the new alternative groups in Sanskrit, such as Raj Shastra or Veda Nairukta Prakriya and (*b*) the inclusion of necessary allied subjects in the special courses of different subjects intended to remove the present-day defects in Sanskrit studies such as over-specialisation or partial view of Sanskrit literature among the Pandits. The meeting was also in favour of the special courses framed for women students. The meeting requested the Government to take early steps to introduce all those features in Sanskrit College courses.

The meeting was wholly in favour of the constitution of a Board of Sanskrit Studies and an Examination Committee, as recommended by the report. The meeting was also in favour of the constitution of a Grants-in-Aid Committee as part of the Board of Sanskrit Studies, as recommended by the report.

Basic Education in Bihar

The experiment in Basic Education in Bihar is to be continued for full seven years according to the decisions reached at a meeting of the Basic Education Board, held recently. Mr. E. R. J. R. Cousins, I. C. S., Adviser to His Excellency and Chairman of the Board, presided.

The Board reviewed the progress of the experiment in Bihar during the last two years and also considered the report of the Board of Inspectors which assessed the working of the Basic Schools in May last. It is understood that, in the opinion of the Board of Inspectors, the experiment has shown encouraging results and the pupils have generally attained the academic standard and craft efficiency expected by the basic syllabus. The Basic Education Board has authorised steps being taken to give effect to the

recommendations of the Board of Inspectors for further intensification of the work. The experiment is to be continued for full seven years and the Board has adopted the budget for the addition of grade V to the Basic schools next year.

The report of the Bihar Education Re-Organisation Committee was considered. The Board has expressed its general agreement with the scheme of Primary Education recommended by the Committee, which is in effect the scheme of Basic Education.

Education in China

The following article on the difficult conditions under which China carries on her educational activities appeared in a recent issue of the weekly bulletin of the China Information Committee, Chungking:—

"Four years since the outbreak of war, Chinese educational institutions have grown in quantity and improved in quality. This has been brought about through redistribution of the schools of higher learning, standardization of the courses, readjustment of the curriculum, improvement of the teaching system, organisation of teachers' training and formation of educational districts. In making these changes, the Ministry of Education has in mind as underlying principle the co-ordination of education and national reconstruction, of cultural and technical instruction and the national defence programme of family and school life and, lastly, of theory and practice.

After the Japanese occupation of China's coastal regions and with the enemy-occupied territory extending further inland, the Ministry of Education has been able to carry out the long-needed readjustments. The institutions of higher learning have been redistributed by amalgamation, division or reorganisation. The national Tsinghua University, National University of Peking and private Nankai University were combined into the National South-west Associated University at Kunming. The present National North-western University at Hanchung, Shensi, is a combination of the former National Peiping University, National Normal University of Peiping and National Peiyang Engineering College. The National North-western Teachers' College, formerly the Teachers' School of the National North-western University, was separated from this institution.

Plans for Higher Education

During the four years of war all plans for higher education have been formulated with a view to meeting the needs of national resistance and reconstruction. Required courses have been carefully worked out by experts of the Ministry of Education. Special emphasis is laid on courses with a direct bearing on present-day Chinese problems.

To bring about improvements in the subjects taught and other necessary reforms, the National Institute of Compilation and Translation was consolidated. The National Council of Higher Learning was inaugurated, and some hundred institutions of research were put directly or indirectly under the control of the Ministry for the sake of centralisation and systematisation.

But Chinese higher education has not only improved in quality but also expanded in quantity. After four years of rebuilding, the number of colleges, universities and technical institutes has now increased to 113. This growth was marked by a new system of normal colleges which differs from the old one by the longer period required for graduation, better-chosen courses and

free tuition. This last factor has enabled many promising but poor youths to enter the teaching profession. At present, there are seven national normal colleges; one at Nantien, Hunan; one at Chengku, Shensi; one for women, the National Women Teachers' College, at Peisha, Szechwan; and four incorporated into the National Central, National Chungshan, National Chekiang and National South-western Associated Universities.

Secondary Education

The formation of educational districts has greatly facilitated the execution of the secondary education programme. Secondary education institutions include middle, normal and vocational schools. China's middle schools, like her colleges, universities and technical institutes, before the war clustered in cities near the coast. The Ministry of Education promulgated regulations dividing each province into middle school districts in accordance with population, financial conditions, cultural level and communication facilities. The regulations provided that the schools in each district should organize research committees to study the problems of educational development. Normal school districts were also marked out in the provinces, with one school each for men and women in every district.

There are altogether 1,973 secondary education institutions in Free China. Of these middle schools number 1,202 and normal schools 500. All are distributed among the districts as mapped out by the Ministry of Education. The remaining 271 are vocational schools.

Much attention has been paid to the promotion of vocational education. Training schools have been established and short-course classes conducted for mechanics, electricians, and other skilled workers. Special classes are available in more than ten colleges and universities for advanced studies in these fields.

Literacy Drive

Illiteracy has been combated through compulsory primary education, people's and citizens' schools and social education. The enforcement of the compulsory education programme dates back to the summer of 1935, when the Government promulgated regulations aiming at completing the programme within five years ending in 1939. It was expected that during the period 40 per cent. of all children would go to a school for one year. After the first five-year period, a four-year programme for 1940 to 1943 was to be enforced during which 80 per cent. of the children of the country were to receive two years of compulsory education. By another four-year programme ending in 1946, all illiterate children in China were to be educated.

According to the people's education programme, there should be during the first two years at least one people's school every three *pao* (each *pao* has 100 households). In this way, there should be more than 260,000 people's schools for the 800,000 *pao* of the entire nation. In the fifth and last year there should be at least 800,000 *pao* people's schools besides 80,000 or more *chen* (or *hsiang*) central schools. To complete this comprehensive schedule, it is estimated by the Ministry of Education that at least $2,932,000,000 and 1,600,000 trained teachers will be needed.

Social Education

Social education aims not only at enabling the people to read and write but also at giving them a knowledge of rural and city life, of how to improve living conditions at home and of how to promote public life. Vehicles for the promotion of social education include adult schools, folk reading centres, public playgrounds and other physical culture facilities, phonetic classes, general commercial and industrial continuation schools, schools for the blind-mutes, reformatories, institutes for orphans and destitute children, museums, art exhibits, theatres, cinema houses, music clubs, educational films, radio broadcasts, circuit corps, libraries and "people's readers."

For the maintenance of the nationwide network of social education institutions, the Government spent $11,205,095 in 1939-40. By the end of 1940, China succeeded in wiping out illiteracy in 46,348,460 of her people; 140,000,000 illiterates remain to be educated."

Miscellany

THE ROLE OF MIGRATIONS

Remakings and reconstructions varying in size and quality are the most inevitable phenomena in man's career. A village formation is the reconstruction of the country, and the larger village represents the reconstruction of the smaller. The town formation is the reconstruction of the village, and the reconstructed town is a large town. And so on, if we look to the size of the formation. Fundamentally speaking, it is rural reconstruction, so to say, that has been invariably proceeding all the time, should we care to describe the very first socio-natural unit or group as the village. Rural reconstruction does not, then, have to be regarded exclusively as the problem or goal of social reform, patriotic service or political work. The very data and postulates of certain aspects of social life, interhuman relations and demographic changes are furnished by rural reconstruction. As soon as we begin to visualize human creativity manifesting itself in its impacts on nature or space we encounter nothing but rural reconstruction, the transformation of a certain form of socio-natural life into another form. This reconstruction is not, however, to be understood invariably in terms of enlargements of the locality pattern in dimension. There may be qualitative reconstructions as well on account of diverse types of social metabolism engendered by creative man.

The agencies by which these remakings or transformations are being consumated are diverse. But one of the most important is the movement of population from one locality or space-condition to another. Migrations play a dominant rôle in the creation of the village or town forms. To what extent and when these migrations or colonizations should be described as internal or external are but matters of political, administrative, municipal or international usage and convention. These political considerations do not affect the basic factor of migrations and colonizations as a formative force in the making and remaking of villages or towns.

One of the theses in Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums* runs to the effect that the primitive clans were subdivisions of some particular tribe, some large ethnic unit which had preceded them, and that the clans arose out of the tribe in the process of its transition from the nomadic condition to that of sedentary life. This thesis goes against that of de Coulange's *La Cité antique* but is accepted by Febvre in *La Terre et l'évolution humaine* (Paris, (1922) and by Lasbax in *La Cité humaine* (Paris, 1927). Two stages are sharply distinguished. One is the nomadic in which the social group is the tribe. The other stage is that of material stabilization, the age of economic sedentarity and geographism. It is in this second stage that the groups known as clans emerge. The chief characteristic of clans is not totemism, as Durkhim believes, but the "fixation in soil." [1] It is the "condensation in village," the territorial fixity of the group, that is the veritable tendency of the clan. The village and the clan are inseparable categories in this ethnological interpretation, based, as it is, on Meyer. The reign of the

[1] Lasbax : *La Cité humaine* (Paris, 1927), Vol. II, pp. 283, 285, 288, 289, 289.

attractive forces of the soil, the institution of land as property, the concentration around the village, the *pays natal fixe* (the fixed native place), etc., are the differentiations between clan and clan as subdivisions of the larger spiritual or political organization, the tribe.

It is questionable how far one can ethnologically generalize that (1) the clans are *toujours* (always) the subdivisions of a tribe, (2) the fragmentation of a tribe into clans *always* corresponds to the transition from nomadism to sedentarity (*passage du nomadisme à la sédentarité*) and (3) the clans are transformed, concentrated, solidified or fixed in the territories or local groups known as villages or cantons. For, it cannot always be demonstrated that everywhere (1) the villages were uni-racial or mono-clan groups and (2) the clans settled themselves in certain territories in such a manner as to exclude the contacts of diverse ethnic elements, *i.e.*, the co-settlement by other race-groups. The existence of diversity in the ethnic composition of a territorial group, the village or the canton, would militate against the thesis of Eduard Meyer or of Lasbax as a universal proposition.

Equally if not more unacceptable is Lasbax's generalization in regard to the ethno-economic evolution of mankind. He says: "The stage of the tribes is particularly that of the peoples of Asia, the stage of villages or clans is that of the African peoples. The stage of the states is that of the European nations." And "this rhythm corresponds," he believes, "to that of the three great races, yellow, black and white, as it corresponds also to that of the three great peoples, Semitic, Hamitic and Aryan."[2] The position is too unhistorical,

But there is one important item in the Meyer-Lasbax interpretation of the origin of villages, cantons and other *groupements locaux*, which it may not be difficult to objectively demonstrate or verify. It is the fact of migrations, colonizations, or movements of population as one of the earliest and steadiest of human activities, enterprises or creations. The local groups or settlements,—whatever be the name, canton, village, country, town, etc.—emerge as but results of some of the creative endeavours of men and women in motion. Villages and towns have to be watched as the bye-products of man's perambulations from one space-point to another on this wide earth. The migratory tendencies of mankind are to be taken among the first instincts, urges, drives, behaviours and ambitions, etc., of mankind. The same tendencies are to be watched in the latest territorial formations, re-makings or reconstructions of villages, and systems of town-planning. "Locality patterns" and migrations constitute one complex.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PLURALISTIC ORIGIN OF VILLAGE AND TOWN FORMATIONS

The country is being perpetually re-made or reconstructed. The smallest village formation represents already some re-making or re-construction of the original country. The villages of other categories continue the same process of re-construction with larger and larger doses of demographic concentration or agglomeration. At certain doses of concentration it is the custom to employ the category, town. But the towns,—no matter what be

[2] *La Cité humaine* (Paris, 1927), Vol. II, p. 295.

the dose of concentration,—likewise embody nothing but further forms of reconstruction of the country or the village. And so on.

At each one of these stages the rural reconstruction or reconstruction of the country is being consummated by diverse agencies independently of or in co-operation with one another. No matter whether the interhuman formation be called a village or a town, its origins are to be traced to a plurality of conditions.

The rural exodus or migration of persons from rural to urban settlements is described by Busson, Fevre and Hauser[1] as a "temporary displacement of population." In modern times it possesses less importance than in the past. These migrations take place from poorer regions (like the *Massif Central* or the Alps) to the richer, *e.g.*, the plains all around. Besides, the industrial regions gain at the cost of the rural.

Union boards, municipalities and corporations are political categories. These units are some of the political or constitutional agencies in rural reconstruction. In rural reconstruction politics do not, however, play a deterministic rôle. Both within and outside the political units the indices of rural reconstruction depend considerably on other items of social life. The number of inhabitants, the size of the settlement, the density of the population, etc., are important variables. Not less so are the proportion of immigrants, transient or permanent, to the sedentary residents and the diversities of the racial strains. The geographical location has important bearings on the migration movements, the ethnic composition and economic structure, etc., and has, therefore, to be counted as a variable. The volume and value of economic transactions, the occupational stratification and structure of the people, the income groups and so forth are likewise variables of significance.

These and other variables contribute each its quota to the rural reconstruction of the regions in question. And as these items are varied and heterogeneous each one of the settlements—villages or towns—whether under the political regime of union boards, municipalities or corporations, has its own social problems, its peculiar pathology, its own pattern of rural reconstruction, re-making of personality or societal transformation.

While in pure theory the meanest village is identical with the mammoth city in so far as both submit to the representative democracy of the modern type the difference between them is profound from the standpoint of the administrator, health worker, culture-leader, social reformer, and economic planner. No two human agglomerations are likely to be alike in the *Gestalt* (configuration or pattern) of interhuman relations, normal or pathological.

Other circumstances remaining the same, men and women used to the pattern of the 20,000-town are likely to react and to behave in a manner different from those used to the 100,000-town, and these latter, again, from those of the million-city. More realistically it may be pointed out that the general intelligence of the college students at Rangpur and Mymensingh, as a rule, may not be of the same level as that of the college students in Calcutta. A statistical study relating to these psycho-social differences between the Indian towns of diverse categories is a desideratum.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

[1] *La France d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1924), p, 421.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS

Differential ruralism and differential urbanism cannot by any means be ignored. The different categories of villages and towns should be separated from one another in case one seeks to approach the problems of rural reconstruction and urbanization in a realistic manner. The German method in social statistics consists generally in dividing the *Gemeinden*[1] (settlements or communities) into two main classes:

(1) *Ländliche* (country or rural) with less than 2,000 inhabitants, and (2) *Städtische* (town or urban) with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

The towns are as a rule classified into the following forms and categories:

(1) *Land-städte* (country-towns) with 2,000-5,000 inhabitants.
(2) *Kleinstädte* (small towns) with 5,000 20.000 inhabitants.
(3) *Mittelstädte* (middling towns) with 20,000-100,000 inhabitants.
(4) *Grosstädte* (large towns or cities) with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Whatever be the name of the settlement or the colony it is nothing but a demographically enlarged village.

Perhaps the 20,000-100,000 category is too large a group, containing as it does diverse sizes, whose problems are not likely to be uniform. Very often it may be convenient for the purposes of administrative efficiency or the exigencies of social work to divide this extensive group into two categories, one with 20,000-50,000 and the other with 50.000-100,000. The category with more than 100,000 requires likewise to be divided into several groups, *e.g.*, at 250,000, 500.000, 1,000,000, 2,000,000 and so forth.

Incidentally it is interesting to observe that in 1933 the pattern of German urbanization yielded the following statistical data:[2]

	Category	No.	Population ('000)	Percentage
1.	Country-towns	2,821	7,082	10·7
2.	Small towns	996	8,819	13·4
3.	Middling towns	220	8,574	13·0
4.	Cities	53	19,951	30·2

In Italian statistics the classification is intensive. For instance, the *Annuario Statistico Italiano*[3] divides the "small towns" into two groups, one with 5,000-10,000, and the other with 10,000-20,000.

Indian statistical classification is in this respect identical with the Italian. Thus the classification of towns compiled from the All-India Census Report, 1931, looks like the following[4]:

	Category	No.	Population
1.	2,000-5,000	18,833	53,556,566
2.	5,000-10,000	2,330	15,412,217
3.	10,000-20,000	632	8,537,719
4.	20,000-50,000	269	7,940,572
5.	50,000-100,000	66	4,566,885
6.	100,000 and above	38	9,640,132

1 *Deutsche Wirtschaftskunde* (Berein, 1930), p. 8.
2 *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Rich* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 14, 34.
3 Rome, 1927, pp. 19, 37.
4 *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1927-37 (Delhi, 1939), p. 9.

It is worth while to recall, as pointed out elsewhere, that in Indian statistics the custom is to treat all settlements with inhabitants up to 5,000 as villages. But in the present study the international custom has been followed which defines villages as settlements with inhabitants up to 2,000. It is nothing but the demographical size or the number of population that confers the name of the settlement as a village or a town.

It is out of villages like Sutanati, Govindapur, etc., that the town of Calcutta took its birth in 1698. All through the centuries its growth has but been the inclusion of village after village. This is the story of Paris, Berlin, London, Moscow, New York, Tokyo and Shanghai. No town, from the smallest to the cosmopolis, has ever been manufactured in ancient and medieval times (Athens, Rome, Pataliputra, Dehli, Gauda) except by reconstructing villages. Every town is a recreated or reconstructed village. A town which is not a village or a cluster of villages is a contradiction in terms; for, after all, every town is but a demographically enlarged village. The most fundamental distinction between the so-called town pattern and the so-called village pattern is the difference in the number of inhabitants in the two formations.

But it is not always possible or desirable to enlarge the village or add up a number of villages and bring them together into one complex or plurality-pattern. In every age and in every country many settlements, colonies or agglomerations are bound to remain small demographic complexes of not more than 500 to 2,000 men and women. International statistics of today even in regard to the most megalopolized countries like England, Germany, etc., leave no doubt about that. The content of rural reconstruction under such circumstances can but be to urbanize the rural *milieu* as much and as often as possible. These small demographic agglomerations, conventionally known as villages, have to be provided with the municipal pattern. The new sanitation complex, the new mechanized devices, the new recreation agencies, the new school-theatre-cinema-radio institutions, and last but not least, the new transportation links have all to be introduced in order to render the lives of the small groups of persons materially and spiritually worth while. The equalization between the village and the town or rather the elevation of the village to the town pattern, nay, the modernization or spiritualization of the rural folks by the impact of the alleged materialism, intellectuality, and contractualism of the urban men and women is the *sine qua non* of rural reconstruction within such small areas. That is why for the science, art, economics, politics or sociology of re-construction the most permanent pre-occupation is to be with the size of urban settlements, the categories of towns, urbanization, urbanism.

For the present we are interested solely in emphasising the point that although urbanism, urbanization and so forth may furnish the common air that bathes all the urban settlements, large, medium and small, it should be deemed scientific as well as practical to start with the idea that there are towns and towns just as there are villages and villages. Besides, in the differentiation of towns as in differential ruralism, other circumstances remaining the same, the most prominent attention should be bestowed on the number of inhabitants or the demographic size of the area.

The difference between categories and categories of human settlements or agglomerations is at bottom the difference in number, *i.e.*, mass and volume. Thus considered, the larger categories may be aptly described as modern, and the smaller as medieval or ancient. It is not to be ignored that even the smaller categories of today are equipped with

industrial, technocratic, cultural and other paraphernalias such as were unknown generations or even decades ago. But all the same, many of the social or interhuman phenomena of the smaller categories of agglomerations exhibit in their general pattern the marks of medievalism or primitivism. In regard to the general identity or similarity between the old and the new conditions it is possible to observe that one of the causes which "prevents us from seeing the fundamental identity between the economic facts of our time and those of the past is the fact that between these two orders of phenomena prodigious differences of volume and mass are found to exist."[5] Once the primitive or medieval character of the smaller agglomerations is accepted for general orientations the strategy and technique of social service or administrative reform can be effectively adapted to those requirements in a scientific manner. The methodology of social work appropriate in a category of the London, Berlin, Paris, or even Calcutta type (*c.*4,500,000—2,250,000) is certainly not in demand in grappling with the problems of the 2,000, 5,000 or 10,000—category. This will explain also how experts in social work, health service, rural reconstruction, etc. such as are used to or trained exclusively in American, British or German conditions are likely to be misfits as workers, nay, as advisers in India where the pattern is preominantly of the smaller settlements (rural formations), *i.e.*, of medieval agglomerations. The expert in rural reconstruction has all the time to attitudinize himself, first and foremost, to the demographic strength of the colony in his charge.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PEERS IN RURAL-URBAN PATTERN

For scientific as well as practical purposes India's socio-economic peers and colleagues are to be found not in the advanced and hyper-developed regions of Eur-America but in the regions of what has been often described by the present author as the "Balkan Complex," Eastern and Southern Europe, certain countries of Latin America, and of course, Asian territories like China, Thailand, Java, Iran, Turkey, etc. These equations or parities have been dealt with in *Economic Development*.[6]

India's rural-urban comrades, peers or equals may be singled out without difficulty. In case foreign experts or foreign experiences are at all to be requisitioned in India for doctoring the social problems arising from rural-urban stratification it should be sociologically sound to call upon such as are acculturated to the socio-economic equals or neighbours of India in those groups.

The social pattern of Russian villages and towns can be treated as an analogue or parallel to that of Indian not only analytically but also dynamically. Down to, say, 1880 "the factory workers and the townspeople were generally still very insignificant in numbers as compared with the mass of peasant population."[7] The first strike of importance did not take place in Russia before 1896 when 30,000 textile workers downed their tools at St. Petersburg. Russia is a youngster like India in modernism and in Czarist times could be assimilated to Indian conditions.

[5] Hauser, *Les Origines historiques des problèmes économiques actuels* (Paris, 1930), p. 5.

[6] Vol. I (Madras, 1926, 1938); Vol. II (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

[7] J. F. Hecker, *Russian Sociology* (London, 1934), pp. 23-25.

Soviet Russia furnishes an object lesson in the deliberate transformation of the rural pattern by extraordinary quickness in the functioning of the appropriate methods and policies. The processes involved in urbanization and the regrouping of the inter-human forces involved in the town-formations are visible under our very eys because of the year to year consummations of the Five Year Plans.

Modernization,—implying the industrial-urban-municipal configuration,—has not been consummated in Ruasia without difficulties and sacrifices, miseries and misfortunes. The Italian scholar, Kretschmann has described the situation down to 1928 in which it is possible to notice the defects in the organization of the internal markets about raw cotton and cotton manufactures, etc. *Essendo questa l'organizzazione del mercato è inutile parlare di accordi fra le città e le campagne* (Such being the market organization it is useless to speak of agreement between the towns and the villages), says Kretschmann. Something like a passive resistance on the part of the peasants and the rural classes generally to the Soviet regime was in evidence about 1928, *i.e.*, the time of the commencement of the first Five Year Plan,

The industrial output of Russia was 42 per cent. of the total output in 1913.[8] It rose to 48 per cent. in 1927-28 on the eve of the Gosplan I. During the Gosplan I (1928-1932) towns were growing rapidly on account of the concentration in industries.[9] Food and house shortage was the consequence in the social economy. Food had to be rationed. Sugar was reduced from 3 lbs. to 1 lb. Meat, at first every alternative day, became later almost a luxury. Potatoes, sold freely at first, had to be doled out later. The sacrifice in consumption indicates the intensity of the Bolshevik *élan* for the industrialization—urbanization—modernization complex. The price paid by the Russians for the manufacture of towns represented their effective demand for rural reconstruction. In industry as in war the "*Blitz*" (lightning) methods are quite expensive.

In Soviet Russia village-planning, town-planning, industrial planning, health planning, etc., are not mere ideologies or essay-writings. They are roubles, roubles all the way—nothing but "*Rupaiyacracy*," the play of *Rupchand* or Rupee-*raj*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

[8] H. Barnes, *History of Western Civilization* (New York, 1935), Vol. II, pp. 1002, 1005. See also J. G. Kretschmann, *La congiuntura economica degli ultimi anni in Russia* (*Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica*, Rome, December, 1928), and H. H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1927).

[9] *Bolshevism, Fascism and Capitalism* (New Haven, 1934), p. 35.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Poetry, Monads and Society.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Price Rs. 3.

Poetry, in our day, demands a manifold approach; no wonder that the author should have pressed monads into the service of criticism. In fact, through experience as well as training in philosophy Mr. Kabir is well-equipped to offer new contribution to poetics. He can claim, moreover, close acquaintance with social and political values needed for writing on "Poetry, Monads and Society." And he has written brilliantly.

Being quintessential in style and argument this book hardly lends itself to a summary review. The main planks are riveted under three heads. Poetry is first shown in relation to pleasure and utility; then comes the question of catharsis and creative work; finally, poetry as communication is shown in relation to its integral and unitary character. An essay on W. B. Yeats is included in the Appendix though it does not strictly fall within the limits of the book; especially so as the author has not attempted to give his own theories an application value. But this is an important commentary on Yeats; the continuity of his works is affirmed as against a supposed break between the poet's Celtic past and his modernist phase. We are grateful for a fine piece of literary criticism.

Mr. Kabir's outstanding contribution has perhaps been to insist on re-examining terms. From Plato to Collingwood fixed words have been used with changing connotation providing a happy playground for imprecision and critical pedantry. The author spares none in his tussle with nomenclature. What exactly is mimesis? Mimicry, assimilation, representation—many ideas join to confuse the issue. In depriving the poet of citizenship whom exactly was Plato banishing from his Republic? The literary entertainer, the craftsman, the magico-mystical artist or the merely derivative scribe and mirror-holder? No rigid categories existed to separate such functionaries in art. Mr. Kabir has no difficulty in showing, for instance, that "for Plato there was hardly any distinction between craft and art in our sense."

Critics have tried to dispel confusion by emphasising either "pleasure" or "utility" but without defining those terms. As Mr. Kabir pleasantly observes, "more often than not...the defenders of the poet have proved dangerous allies." Much relevant and lively discussion will be found, in these pages, on the nature of poetic values. We are rightly told that "the attempt to reduce all judgments of value to only one type is the temptation most fatal to the utilitarian." Such temptation, we might add, is also most fatal to the aesthetic or hedonistic absolutarian. The author has hard words for the utilitarian. Pleasure, however, is also utility and one could reverse the order; this aspect has not been fully examined. Mr. Kabir, of course, admits social values, but the whole scheme of values according to him, is secondary and incidental. "To delight or to uplift is not the function of poetry as such."

Here we touch the cardinal point in Mr. Kabir's thesis. It is based on an absolute, or "Monadic" concept of poetry. The third chapter amplifies the arguments of the first. If poetry is "disinterested," is "complete"—as a monad is complete—in a world of parallel existences,

then poetry which is also communication could hardly exist. "Expression," in verse, would be meaningless. Mr. Kabir recognises this and faces the paradox. "The cleavage between the Monadic character of poetry and its communicativeness must therefore be resolved." He gives us a new and wider interpretation of monadology, and a refreshing analysis of relevant implications. What more could be done by intellectual argument?

But theories of poetry soon reach a vanishing point unless criticism is brought back to the soil, and tested in reference to living roots and flowers. Poetry being organic, literary evalution must deal with the limbs and organs through which poetry expresses itself. We seek applied values and a sense of the particular. This, however, is criticism offered not against any book but against the philosophy of poetics. Mr. Kabir has done much to inform his poetics with modern significance. In fact, some of his pages are among the most original contributions that we know of in contemporary studies on that subject. But poetics in our day is discovering its inadequacy, as all generalisations on art must, and coming closer to living realities. That is to say, an intimate experience of the creative process and a sense of its final mystery—in relation to the unique in literature—is demanded. The author possesses both. We must hope, therefore, that in another book the theories so lucidly handled here will be shown in the context of living verse. Literary criticism must enlarge its boundaries and philosophy also attain greater validity.

The chapter on Catharsis and Creativity is important and in some ways the most satisfying. And this is in no small measure connected with references to Wordsworth, Shelley and Coleridge even if they appear momentarily. Particularly enjoyable is the author's encounter with Dr. Richards who along with Dr. Joad has been a target of his attention. This book will help in exposing professorial cliches. Dr. Richards' theory of belief had already been torn into shreds by the poets whose "non-belief" he sought to patronise. All modern poetry is almost violent belief, whether theological or communistic. Mr. Kabir, whose ire has been very properly raised, carries farther the work of demolition. But he does more in this chapter. His philosophical equipment comes into excellent use in the analysis of new psychological theories. He has illuminating remarks to make on catharsis in relation to sublimation. Abreactive therapy, complexes and censors are discussed; psychoanalysis, evidently, still largely functions in literature to provide "medical analogies." But the effect of new psychology, in its deeper aspect, needs ampler exposition. Sur-realism, for instance, which is touched upon, or techniques of "subconscious association" reflect a new awareness that has enriched poetry.

This book is written with wit and discernment and carries the fruits of sound scholarship. The reader's admiration grows as each difficult issue is tackled with vigour and ideas are expressed in a gracious and vivacious language. It is difficult to see how any student of literature could afford to miss this work in which original thought has been devoted to fundamental literary problems.

AMIYA CHAKROVARTY

Sri Aurobindo and the New Age.—By Anil Baran Ray. Published by John M. Watkins, London.

The book under review is made out of the articles Mr. Anil Baran Ray contributed to *The Modern Review*, *The Hindusthan Review*, *The Calcutta*

Review and some other journals. Therein he makes an attempt to expound to the reading public the ideal of Sri Aurobindo. According to Aurobindo, the salvation of the humau race lies in the recognition of the fundamental truth that the universe is at botton spiritual and its end divine. We can realize the supreme end of our life—union with the Divine, as he points out, by betaking ourselves to integral Yoga and all that. And through our yogic effort there will emerge from among us in the course of time an altogether new race—a supra-mentalized race of supermen, each with an angelic vision and all-round perfection. Mr. Ray in so many pages of his book explains all these in a highly accessible manner.

He also goes out of his way to say a few words to the sceptics who sneer at the idea of supermen. He points out that the ideal is revealed to Aurobindo in his yogic intuition and experience and is on that score above criticism. We—ordinary human beings are wallowing in the quagmire of mundane life; we sek to understand things with the mind and intelligence. We cannot comprehend, as he indicates, far less question a conception that owes its origin to yogic vision and is not based on anything earthly.

He discusses among other things the relation between science, philosophy and religion and suggests a synthesis of the three in the light of his Master's teachings. Towards the end of the book he makes an analysis of the contents of Sri Aurobindo's *The Life Divine* recently published in the form of a book—an analysis which will prove both instructive and informative. The book is, on the whole, a lucid introduction to Aurobindoism.

A. C. Das

Ourselves

[I. The Late Mr. Abhayacharan Banerjee.—II. The Radhakanta Handiqui Girls' College, Gauhati.—III. The Basanta Gold Medal, 1938.—IV. Patent Rights of Discoveries made in University Laboratories.—V. The All-India Oriental Conference.—VI. Election of Ordinary Fellows by the Faculties and the Registered Graduates.—VII. University Representative on the Bengal Tennis Association.]

I. The Late Mr. Abhayacharan Banerjee

The Syndicate at their meeting of the 23rd August, 1941, placed on record their deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Mr. Abhayacharan Banerjee, M.A. (Cantab.), C. E. (Roorkee), M.I.E. (Ind.), who had been for a long time an Added Member of the Faculty of Engineering and a Member of the Board of Studies and other Committees and who always helped the University with his wise advice.

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II. The Radhakanta Handiqui Girls' College, Gauhati

The Radhakanta Handiqui Girls' College, Gauhati, has been affiliated to this University in English, History, Economics, Sanskrit, Assamese (Vernacular) and Bengali (Vernacular) to the B.A. Pass standard and also in Assamese (Second Language) to the Intermediate standard from the commencement of the session 1941-42.

* * *

III. The Basanta Gold Medal, 1938

The Basanta Gold Medal will be awarded to Mr. Amarbandhu Raychaudhuri, a student of the Scottish Church College, who has successfully competed for the Medal by an essay on "Rivers and Waterways in their Effect on Rural Health."

* * *

IV. Patent Rights of Discoveries made in University Laboratories

A committee has been formed to report on the subject of patent rights of discoveries resulting from research work organised by this University and partly financed by the Government of India. This question has arisen out of certain correspondence addressed by the

Director of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Commerce Department of the Government of India. The committee consists of the following members:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.

Dr. B. C. Roy, B.A., M.D, M.R.C.P, (*Lond.*), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E, M.A., B.L.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, D.Litt., M.L.A.

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V. The All-India Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference will meet at Hyderabad in the third week of December, 1941. The delegates of this University will be chosen by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

* * *

VI. Election of Ordinary Fellows by the Faculties and the Registered Graduates

The terms of office as Ordinary Fellows of the undermentioned Elected Fellows would expire early next year:—

Prof. P. C. Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. (Faculty of Science).

Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.A. (Faculty of Law).

Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A. (Cantab.), M.I.E. (Ind.) (Faculty of Engineering).

Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A. (Registered Graduates).

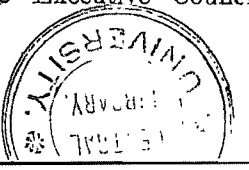
Mr. Sasikanta Chakravarti, B.E., M.I.P. (Lond.), M.I.E. (Ind.) (Registered Graduates).

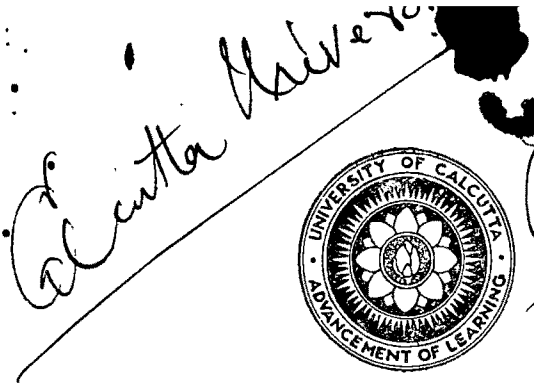
Our University has provisionally fixed the following dates for election to the Senate, subject to the approval of H. E. the Chancellor:—Election by the Faculties—Tuesday, the 20th January, 1942. Election by the Registered Graduates—Friday, the 30th January, 1942.

* * *

VII. University Representative on the Bengal Tennis Association

Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., has been appointed to represent this University on the Executive Council of the Bengal Tennis Association, Calcutta.





THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THREE WEEKS OVER EDUCATION BOARD BILL

P. N. BANERJEE, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., M.L.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

Principal, University Law College, Calcutta; Fellow and Syndic, Calcutta University; Member, Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca University.

THREE weeks over the Secondary Education Board Bill now before the Legislative Assembly of Bengal are weeks of nightmare, specially for those who have been charged, in the felicitous language of the Speaker-Vice-Chancellor, with the delicate task of negotiating an agreed measure. For three weeks these ambassadors of goodwill, who are all members of the Legislative Assembly, have spent their days and nights in trying to solve the great riddle before them. The procedure adopted in the matter of negotiation is somewhat novel in character. A Select Committee was appointed to consider the provisions of the Bill on the 28th August, 1940. The Select Committee did not have the benefit of the advice of any Hindu member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly with the solid exception of Mr. Upendranath Edbar who is incidentally a member of the (alleged) Scheduled Castes. The Select Committee may have been enlightened by our two Caste Hindu Ministers—Sir Bejoy Prosad Singha Roy, and the Maharaja of Cossimbazar. I do not know. The Select Committee presented its report and a motion for the consideration of the Bill was mooted by the Chief Minister in the

Legislative Assembly on that auspicious date—August 18th. Over him hung the mandate of his Coalition Party that the settlement, if any, with the Opposition, must be arrived at on or before the 20th of August, 1941. While negotiations and discussions relating to a compromise were in full progress, the Coalition Party issued a further mandate on the Pilot of the Bill that the Bill must be considered on and from the 27th August, 1941. The discussion on the Bill with the negotiations still in progress began in the Legislative Assembly from the 27th August, 1941. These negotiations are still in progress, yet the Government of the day have been obliged to oppose amendments moved by the Opposition in the House. Division after Division is taking place, and the opposition is naturally suffering heavy casualties in this *luftwaffe* of the party in power. The position of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta is indeed embarrassing. He is also the Speaker of the Assembly. He has in law to hold his scales even in the Legislature between the Government Party and the Opposition. He has, therefore, decided to follow the agelong proverb—"silence is golden." The Government very kindly forwarded a copy of the Bill to the University for its opinion. The Syndicate of the University of Calcutta met many a time and through the Vice-Chancellor it reported to the Senate, the body-corporate of the University, that important negotiations for settlement were in progress and that, therefore, the Report of the Syndicate on the Bill would be placed before the Senate for its opinion if and when the negotiations came to grief. The Senate of the Calcutta University, which fought many a battle over the proposal for the "reform" of Secondary Education in this province, has now been lulled to blissful slumber. The report of the Syndicate will see the light of day when the blue sky above will be overcast with *stukas* sent out by our militant fellow-countrymen of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The attitude of the various political parties in the Legislative Assembly on this Bill is, to use the language of a modern military analyst of to-day, "extremely confusing." The Chief Minister of the province tells the Assembly that he has sympathy with many of the amendments defeated by the votes of the members of the Coalition Party, that he has every sympathy with the measures proposed but that at the command of the Chief Whip of his Party he finds himself unable to accept the amendments proposed. Incidentally,

the chief Minister, who on another occasion called himself a 'Serang,' finds his boat rudderless. Incidentally, the amendments defeated in the House so far, embodied proposals which the plenipotentiaries of the belligerents acepted by way of compromise. In the "Cabinet" of Bengal, we have four Hindu Ministers eagle-nosed, lynx-eyed, ever anxious to maintain the interests of the great community to which they belong. Could Dame Suspicion ever whisper that our Hindu Ministers in the "Cabinet" like the dazzling courtiers of "Le Roi" of France of the seventeenth century dangle at every step and simper at every nod of the great masterpieces of our times? The Opposition to the measure consists mainly of the Hindus and members of the Independent (alleged) Scheduled Castes. These members in the Legislative Assembly have unfortunately been divided between two loyalties—national and sectarian, secular and the religious, political and communal.

India's Magna Charta!

Just as God in the Bible divided certain political animals into sheep and goat, just as parliamentary democracy in England in the noon-tide of its glory and power divided not mankind but the "voter-kind" into Liberal and Conservative, so the Bible of our Constitution—the great Magna Charta of Indian liberties—the Government of India Act, 1936—has in its operation divided the Scheduled Castes into Hindu Scheduled Castes and Muslim Scheduled Castes. Both are agreed on increased representation of the Scheduled Castes on the Constitution of the proposed Secondary Board of Education. The manner and the method of representation only divide them. The one side is in favour of representation through a joint electorate, the other demands nomination, or in the alternative, a separate electorate of the members of the Scheduled Castes.

Some of the members of the Scheduled Castes go so far as to say that they are not Hindus. They were returned to the Assembly under the Government of India Act of 1935 as Hindus. In political faith they profess to be Muslims. The attitude of our European masters, who hold the balance in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, is consistently inconsistent and unacademic. Mr. Wordsworth, one of their members, served the Select Committee, and with his experience of

the Indian Education Service, his experience as the Principal of the Presidency College, Bengal, chose to sign the Report of the Select Committee without a note of dissent. In his speech he recommended to the Opposition the acceptance of the provisions of the proposed Bill as a stiff "dose of castor oil." Living in this country of non-violence for over a quarter of a century Mr. Wordsworth, in these strenuous days of hard battle with the forces of evil, namely, Nazism, has forgotten the other more potent and quick-acting purges. The European Party has indeed tabled a number of amendments. They have not been moved yet. If ever they are moved, it can be confidently predicated that the amendments will constitute their mature advice gratis to the members of the Opposition. The prospect of a settlement notwithstanding these difficulties appeared bright, but unfortunately the future of the Bill, which is certain, has mingled itself with the future of the Coalition Party which, some of our Astro-physicists calculate, is somewhat uncertain. Our Prime Minister is now locked in struggle with his great political leader Mr. Jinnah. His 'lions' and 'tigers' of the Muslim League are snarling for their prey. Whether their thirst will be quenched on the alleged vested interests of the Hindus in the matter of Secondary Education, or whether they will satisfy their appetite like pensioned-off tigers of the forest is a ticklish question which only experienced Zoologists can solve. Far from madding crowd's ignoble strife I often tried to visualise that sad day, if it ever comes at all, when the Zoological garden of Calcutta may possibly receive its baptism of bomb-fire. What will then happen? Will the Assyrian then come down like wolf on the fold?

The Secondary Education Bill must have been designed by a master-mind. Its provisions have been analysed, discussed so many times by a hostile press and a belligerent platform in Bengal during the months that heard the rumble of guns, the roar of aeroplanes, the subdued crash of falling empires, that it is needless for me to recapitulate them or to offer my comments on them. Within the orbit of the proposed Secondary Board will be placed all our high schools in the province. They are fifteen hundred in number. Nine hundred of them have been built up by years of patient toil from out of the funds of the beggar's bowl in distant villages notwithstanding cast-iron rules of the University, notwithstanding periodical visitations from an over-zealous Government inspectorate, ever anxious to

detect the slightest political tinge not only in the tone of our schools but in the composition of their teachers and managers as well. Nine hundred of these schools have never received grant-in-aid from the public exchequer. They have stood away from the District and the Sub-divisional Magistracy. They have not subscribed to the doctrine of academic serfdom which has been impressed by our itinerant missionaries in the shape of our Circle Officers, Thanadars and Chaukidars for a number of years. Within the orbit of the Board will come the Middle English and the Middle Vernacular schools in our villages. They number more than 2,500. Within the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the Board will also come, for the first time in the way of our educational expansion, nearly a thousand Madrasas with religious education as their ideal. Yet the definition of Secondary Education in the Bill is as vague and as boundless as the clear blue sky over our heads. "Secondary Education," we learn from the bill, means "education other than Primary education or Post-Matriculation education provided that the provincial Government may by notification declare any form of education to be or not to be secondary education." The framers of the Bill were obviously suffering from cataract in one eye and myopoea in the other. How can a nation be great unless its education is broad-based upon an ideal? How can a nation become great if the goal of its education is simply the Matriculation examination of the University, or the School-leaving Certificate merely of a Secondary Board of Education to fit the youth of a country for the high destiny that awaits it, to equip its boys and girls in the prime of their lives for the discharge of sacred duties, instil in their minds the love of their country, faith in its future, hope in its destiny, and charitable ideas about the differences existing in the country itself.—These are ideals of universal application. This Bill takes no note that Secondary Education in every free country of the world includes technical, technological, agricultural, industrial, commercial, military and naval education. The Bill leaves to an omniscient provincial Government the important task of defining Secondary Education. The members of the Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly believe probably with the poet that "men may come and men may go, but we go on for ever." I shall not refer in this connection to the meticulous power of interference which an all-wise and providential provincial Government has retained in its hands with regard to the

chairs of the Secondary Board, its Executive Council, its Committees, and shall not refer how the University of Calcutta has been sought to be humiliated and strangulated by the provisions of the Bill. I shall not refer here how the inherent right of every single University of the world to determine its admission test has been taken away by this Bill. I shall not refer to the letters which the Bill imposes upon not only all high schools but upon all candidates, male or female, who may appear at the Matriculation Examination of the future. I shall not refer how discrimination has been made on geographical or on communal grounds between the University of Calcutta and the University of Dacca.

Mere Ornamental Figure

Our countrymen attach too much importance to the composition of the Secondary Board of Education. Do they realise that the Secondary Board of Education visualised in the Bill will be not only official-ridden, will not only be absolutely communal in character sacrificing all sound academic interests? Do they realise that this Board will be merely an ornamental figure, that it will meet not more than twice or three times every year when there will be a scramble for the travelling allowance cheques of members? Do they realise that the main-spring of the Constitution is the salaried President of the Board nominated by the Provincial Government for a period of three years with a possible extension of a further period of two more years ? Do they realise that the motive powers of the Constitution is the Executive Council functioning under the Board? Let me analyse the Constitution of the proposed Executive Council. It has indeed been invested with practically the whole authority of the Board. On the Executive Council will sit—(1) The President (*ex-officio*), (2) The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University (*ex-officio*), (3) The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca (*ex-officio*), (4) The Director of Public of Instruction (*ex-officio*), (5) The Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education (*ex-officio*), (6) The Deputy Directress of Public Instruction for female education (*ex-officio*), (7 & 8) Two Inspectors of Schools (*ex-officio*). All these eight members are nominees of the provincial Government. With the exception of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta they are all salaried officials. Apart from the eight members there are nine other members of the

Executive Council. Of these (*a*) the University of Calcutta will have the good fortune of being represented by three members of the Board to be elected by the Board from amongst the representatives of the University of Calcutta on the Board. These representatives number seven persons: (*i*) The Head of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Calcutta, (*ii*) the Head of the Arabic and Persian Department of the University of Calcutta, (*iii*) five persons elected by the Senate of the University of Calcutta of whom two shall be Muslims and three shall be Hindus (of whom one shall be a member of the Scheduled Castes). We must not forget that directly 80 per cent. of the members of the Senate of the University of Calcutta are nominees of the provincial Government. (*b*) The University of Dacca will be represented on the Executive Council by two members Of these two members one shall be a Hindu and another shall be a Muslim. The Muslim members of the Executive Council, supposed to be representing the University of Dacca will be elected from amongst Muslim members of the Board, that is to say, the Provost of one of the Muslim Halls of the University of Dacca, the Head of the Department of Islamic Studies and Arabic of the University of Dacca, and one nominee of the Executive Council of the University of Dacca who shall be a Muslim. (*c*) The remaining four members will be elected by the Board from the members of the Board other than the so-called representatives of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. Of these, two shall be Muslims, one shall be a member of the Scheduled Castes, one shall be an Anglo-Indian or a European. Analysing the composition of the Executive Council, on the Executive Council will sit, therefore, eight officials of whom four to five at least may be Muslims. Of the remaining members, four shall be Muslims, one a member of the Scheduled Castes another either an Anglo-Indian or a European. The remaining three will be Hindus. Independent thought will be represented on the Executive Council either by official or by subservient wisdom and specialized knowledge in sectarian principles.

Smoke-screen of Compromise

Political pugilists and strategists may discover that behind the negotiations now proceeding for settlement, there lies the idea of weakening and stifling opposition inside the Legislature and outside

by means of an all-embracing canopy or an all-prevading smoke-screen in the shape of a compromise. To political Bengal and to our philosophic academicians behind cloister-pale I say—

"Shades of the Helots, Greece
change thy foes,
Thy fate is still the same.
Thy glorious days are o'er
But not thy years of shame."

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

DR. BENOY SARKAR

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF NON-COMPETITIVE ECONOMY

IN every study of Social metabolism it is worth while to examine the facts and phenomena of Soviet Russia such as have bearings on rural-urban sociology. It may be pointed out that so far as inter-mental processes, inter-human relations, sociations, action-patterns, plurality patterns, methods of societal transformation and forms of group reconstruction are concerned, it is hardly possible to make any distinction between the Sovietic and the non-Soviet worlds. The identities, equations and similarities are profound. But there is one tremendous and epochmaking distinction. This is to be found in the sociations constituting the abolition of private capital and private profit. It is communism that makes the *differentium* between the societal processes and relations of the bourgeois regions and those of Soviet Russia. In the world today (since 1917) there are two socialisms. One is bourgeois or capitalistic socialism. The other socialism is non-capitalistic communism.

The economy that has been established in Soviet Russia is one of the greatest embodiments of *satya* (truth), *shiva* (good) and *sundara* (beauty) conceivable in human affairs. The state is the only capitalist and the only "profiteer." It is also the only producer.* No individual can possess capital, and no individual can function as the producer of goods for the market. The term, cash or money, as normally understood, has therefore ceased to exist in the Soviet dictionary. The negation of money as an economic category is one of the marvels of economic theory as well as of economic history. *In so far as these are facts*, we can believe that the holding of cash or attempt at saving by private citizens is meaningless. No future investment is possible. If there be any cash or saving left somehow with anybody it has got to be

* L. E. Hubbard: *Soviet Money and Finance* (London, 1936), p. 202. See the chapter entitled "In Place of Profit" in S. and B. Webb: *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* (London, 1936), Vol. II, pp. 697-804.

used immediately,—say, in the course of a year,—to purchase current output. To all intents and purposes the Soviet régime is a barter-economy on a continental scale.

All these and the following observations are based on the *hypothesis* that no non-communistic items are surviving in Soviet Russia. My interpretations in this paper are to be taken as subject to this fundamental limitation. Every proposition that looks sweepingly general is to be taken in a modified manner. Besides, since my orientations are thoroughly pluralistic in every field touched upon in this study as in others, the question of an extremist monism can never arise in connection with my reactions to Soviet Russia. Exceptions and modifications are to be understood as a matter of course.

Another item of the good realized by the economic system of Soviet Russia may be described as follows : In this socio-economic pattern no individual can possibly spend his income on more goods and services than can be consumed at one.* Nobody can own a big house and grounds with servants nor a private yacht, etc. At the most the rich man can buy a piano or fur-coat or spend a few days in a luxurious hotel. But the prices charged of him are much beyond what it costs the state to supply the luxury-goods. As Soviet Russia has 170 million inhabitants the social theory runs to the effect that every Russian's claim on the state amounts on the average to about 1/170 millionth of the total yearly flow of consumption goods.

The social pattern of Soviet Russia renders private or individual saving superfluous. The requirements of the invalid and the aged persons are taken care of by the state. Needless to observe that invalidity and old age are two of the greatest risks of human beings.† In case these two risks can be borne by the society, the individual is bound to feel totally secure and dispense with saving against the rainy day. As pointed out in my *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936), social insurance is the greatest single achievement of industrial civilization. This achievement of bourgeois socialism has been carried over to communistic socialism by the statesmen of Bolshevik Russia. By no means, however, should this kind of social legislation be thoughtlessly exhibited as something specific or as a differential achievement of Bolshevik Russia.

The " collective " and " individual " cultivators are compelled to deliver 25 per cent. of the output to the state. The price paid by the

* Hubbard, p. 187. † *Ibid.*, p. 182.

state to these cultivators is low but not so low that they have to starve.* The state, however, charges very high prices when it re-sells the crops. But the prices at which they are re-sold are not so high that the people cannot buy. The *bazar* prices, if this category should at all be employed in the Soviet economy, depend entirely on what the state considers to be the requirements of cultivators and the other citizens.

Price as understood in Ricardian (classical) or neo-Ricardian (neo-classical) economics does not exist in Soviet Russia. It does not depend on demand and supply. It has nothing to do with the cost of production. The amount of production for the entire country is fixed by the state without reference to expenses or requirements. The consumption is likewise fixed for each individual by the state. There is no buying and selling as commonly understood. Nobody can buy more than a fixed quantity.† Prices are fixed by the state arbitrarily, *i.e.*, without reference to the labour, materials and other costs of production. The goods and services supplied to richer individuals are, as we have seen, charged exorbitant prices, *i.e.*, prices fixed at the discretion of the state.

The wages and salaries are likewise arbitrary. They are fixed in such a manner that every individual can meet two kinds of expenses. First come the expenses of consumption, *i.e.*, the prices of goods and services required by him. In the second place, there are taxes, postage, loans, subscriptions, etc., which every individual must make to the state.‡ The Soviet economy is a profitless economy in the sense that profits of the producer or enterpreneur belong automatically to the state.

In keeping with the other parts of the Bolshevik socio-economic *Gestalt* the currency (or money) also is entirely arbitrary. The question of a standard does not arise because the state manages it and because this currency cannot be used for foreign purposes. The entire foreign trade is the business of the state and along with it the currency for foreign trade,—namely, gold. The cover for the currency is likewise not an important affair because the individuals do not have to hoard it or use it as an instrument for saving. No saving is conceivable. The state issues exactly that amount of currency which is likely to meet all the wages and salaries.§ These wages and salaries are, as we have seen, so regulated that they are enough to cover the prices as well as the taxes.

It is obvious that money in the sense understood by orthodox economic science of the last three generations does not exist in the

* Hubbard, pp. 272-273.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 178-182.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Soviet economy. It is nothing but a symbol or common denominator to facilitate the distribution of resources. We may believe that the German economist, Knapp's *Staatliche Theorie des Geldes* (The Statal Theory of Money, 1905) has found an application in Russia. According to Knapp money has no intrinsic value but possesses the one that the state chooses to attach to it. A quantitative theory of money is unthinkable in the Utopian conditions of the Bolshevik régime. Value in every form and in every sense—wages, rents, prices—is determined by the will of the state and in accordance with its conception of what the individuals should demand and what they ought to supply.

The Theory of Communistic Economics

Perhaps it is not without significance to note that the Soviet pattern has followed to a certain extent the very fundamental principle of Fichte's *Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat* (Closed Commercial State, 1800).* In that book he declared his philosophy as follows, *dass der Staat vor allem Handel des Auslandes sich gänzlich verschliesse* (that the state first and foremost entirely close the foreign trade).

The principle of this closing of foreign trade by the state has been carried out in Soviet Russia by completely nationalizing or monopolizing it, *i.e.*, preventing the people from having any trade with foreign countries. The variation from Fichte's programme must not be ignored, however. But one aspect of the totalitarian abolition of foreign trade envisaged by Fichte is observable in the Bolshevik state. The currency of Soviet Russia is not in any way connected with that of foreign countries. It serves its own internal purpose and is regulated without reference to the international money (gold and silver). It is interesting that in this regard also Fichte's basic philosophy has been applied by the Bolsheviks to practical statesmanship.

In Fichte's system the most decisive factor is the abolition of the *Weltgeld* (world-money or international money), the withdrawal of gold and silver from circulation, and the establishment of *Landesgeld* (local or national money) without reference to gold or silver. I am not trying to establish an equation between the ideologies and institutions of the Bolshevik economists and the speculative abstractions of Fichtean idealism. But that the idealistic Utopia of 1800 threw out certain suggestions which it has been possible to work out in the practical Utopia of Soviet communists may not be doubted.

* See the edition of 1922 (Leipzig Meiner Co.), pp. 6, 90, 99, 103, 111, 123.

Those who have not seen the Russian financial system in operation can hardly visualize to what extent and within what spheres the competition of orthodox economics is still perceptible in the Soviet economy. I have not been in Soviet Russia and do not know the Russian language. There is, therefore, every chance of my being misled by Anglo-American or Franco-German propaganda. A few doses of competition in certain limited fields may not be entirely lacking. But scientifically speaking, the situation described above would justify F. A. von Hayek's position in *Economica** (London) to the effect that competitive economy and the Soviet economy are two distinctly separate patterns.

The farthest removed from this economy is that which, in spite of large doses of state intervention, has been introduced in England. In "The Strength of Democracy"† Donal Tyerman attempts to prove that in England "democracy has proved to be no less state-minded than dictatorship." In his analysis the "characteristic English attempt to institute state supervision and control without abandoning the healthy stimuli of private enterprise, competition and private risk-bearing has created a state very different from the *laissez faire* fiction which is so often contrasted disadvantageously with the controlled economies of other countries." Be it observed at once that Sovietic economy is entirely unintelligible in the categories of Tyerman.

Nor is E. Durbin's *Politics of Democratic Socialism* (London, 1940), inspite of its attempts at understanding Leninism, calculated to exhibit the real achievement of the Sovietic economy. The revolutionary departures consummated by Soviet Russia from the conventional track of socialistic *étatisme* are tremendous and too radical to be comprehended by the complacent ideologies indulged in by the Labour Imperialists of Eur-America. It is, altogether, a clean slate on which Lenin wrote the new A.B.C. for *homo œconomicus* as well as for man as a political animal. Even Leninism II,‡ as developed by its manager, Stalin, cannot likewise be comprehended in terms of the conventional non-communistic socialism.

The socialistic régime established in England in pre-1939 years as well as under the totalitarian conditions of the so-called war-communism is but an instance of what is called "partial socialization." Tyerman and Durbin have gone far enough for this partial socialization. This is,

* London, May, 1940 (article, "Socialist Calculation—The Competitive Solution").
† *Lloyds Bank, Ltd. Monthly*, London, September, 1938.
‡ B. K. Sarkar: "Stalin as the Manager of Leninism No. II." (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1938).

however, the farthest removed from the complete socialization consummated by the Soviet economy. The German economist, Lifemann, has made it perfectly clear in his *Geschichte und Kritik des Sozialismus* (Leipzig, 1922) that partial socialization " in no way alters the present-day economic order." The traditional economist will likewise have to agree with L. von Mises when he, as quoted by another German economist, Georg Halm,* points out in *Kapitalismus und Sozialismus* that under conditions of partial socialization the " essential characteristics of the socialist economy cannot appear at all " because the general economic pattern of the society is that of " uncontrolled " commercial activity.†

The achievements of Soviet Russia in the economic sphere cannot be appraised at their proper worth and indeed even understood unless one is prepared to make a sharp distinction between the ordinary socialistic economy and the communistic economy. The differences have been correctly exhibited by Halm in his paper on " Further Considerations on the Possibility of Adequate Calculation in a Socialist Economy " published in *Collectivist Economic Planning*.‡ Be it observed, however, that Halm is neither a communist nor a socialist. His economic analysis is in my judgment acceptable in theory.

The facts and interpretations of the Soviet economy such as have been offered by me in the preceding pages would but be a confirmation of what Halm believes. " Where, as in Soviet Russia under the Five-Year-Plan," says he, " the state is governed in such a way that the provision of the people with even the necessaries of life becomes almost a matter of indifference, the purely economic point of view ceases to be relevant." Classical or neo-classical economics, as I have pointed out above, cannot have Soviet Russia as its field for illustrations except as instances of " non-economic " forces or motives and activities. Soviet economics is the economics of " imperfect competition " consciously carried out in a totalitarian manner.

The Swedish economist, Gustav Cassel, in his *Theoretische Sozialökonomie*§ takes the view that in the centrally and rationally organized socialistic economy, the cost principle would in fact have to be adhered to much more closely than is possible in the existing

* " Further Considerations on the Possibility of Adequate Calculation in a Socialist Community " in *Collectivistic Economic Planning*, ed. by F. von Hayek (London, 1935), p. 190.

† Jena, 2nd edition, 1932, p. 98.

‡ Edited by F. A. von Hayek (London, 1935), pp. 133-135, 136-138.

§ Leipzig, 1927, p. 115.

economic order. The idea is (1) that even without market, competition and the processes associated with them there is a mathematically calculable equilibrium price of the means of production, and (2) that this theoretically determined pricing system has a universal objective validity and can be applied under any conditions. This conception of price is too abstract and rigid. It serves only to define price as something formal, as a logical category. But this ideal price scheme cannot be identical with the actual price in an economy. Halm* is right when he opposes this view and asserts that prices cannot be determined in the socialistic economy according to the principle of cost. In any case, as he says, prices cannot be calculated with the help of the equations or mathematical formulae. Equally acceptable is his position that a pricing process determined by the value-scales of individuals is irreconcilable with an arbitrary programme of production.

Von Hayek's Rational Economics on Economic Planning

In the chapter entitled "The Present State of the Debate" of *Collectivist Economic Planning* von Hayek† cities Brutzkus's *Economic Planning in Russia* (London, 1935) in support of his contention that planned economy is an economic failure. The "possibility of successful planning" is questioned by him as an economic theorist on the evidences of the data furnished by Brutzkus from the Russian experiment. In my paper on "Social Metabolism" (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1941), I have already cited one of Brutzkus's papers in German in connection with the analysis of "Social Metabolism in Soviet Russia." He finds, as we know, the achievements of the first five-year plan very defective.

The same interpretation is accepted by von Hayek when he says: "The best tractor factory may not be an asset, and the capital invested in it is a sheer loss, if the labour which the tractor replaces is cheaper than the cost of the material and labour, which goes to make a tractor, plus interest." He finds "excessive development of some lines of production at the expense of others and the use of methods which are inappropriate under the circumstances." Another sign of the lack of success is to be encountered, he thinks, in the "overdevelopment of some industries at a cost which was not justified by the importance of their increased output." According to von Hayek one can "see unchecked the ambition of the engineer to apply the latest developments

* *Collectivist Economic Planning*, ed. by F. A. von Hayek (London, 1935), pp. 184-186, 188.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

made elsewhere without considering whether they were economically suited in the situation." In his judgment the " use of the latest methods of production, which could not have been applied without central planning, would be a symptom of a misuse of resources rather than a proof of success."

The data furnished by Brutzkus are perhaps quite authentic. And as economic theorist, von Hayek has offered the interpretations of *économique rationnelle, i.e.*, " rational economics." There is nothing objectionable in such methods of interpretation. Pure economics, the science of unhampered competition, knows nothing but rationality. As rational economist, von Hayek places before himself two legitimate tests of success. The first is the " goods which the system actually delivers to the consumer." The second is the " rationality or irrationality of the decisions of the central authority." In economic studies and investigations we are used to this kind of reasoning. It is indeed on such postulates that economics functions as a science.

And yet it is questionable if the rational interpretations are reasonable in the " ordinary " sense of rationality. The phrases like " misuse of resources," " sheer loss," " unchecked amibition," " over-development," etc., are perhaps to a certain extent justified from the " purely " economic viewpoint. But they may not be justified if we understand rationality as something not exclusively confined to the profit-loss calculus of the *homo œconomicus*. Once we remove the category, " rational," from the " technically " economic or hedonistic domain and employ it in the larger sense of serviceable or useful in the comprehensive programme of life, the data furnished by Brutzkus may not have to be interpreted as symptoms of " sheer loss," " misuse," or " over-development." Besides, *even hedonistically*, a short-period loss may turn out to be a gain *in the long run*. Instances of temporary withdrawals or strategic retreats combined with ultimate victory are well known in military operations. Their analogues in economic and other affairs are too numerous to be overlooked in social science.

If hedonism, or economic rationality, *i.e.*, the doctrine of minimum efforts and maximum gain were to be the criterion many economic or financial policies normally undertaken by a state would have to be described as " sheer losses," " unchecked ambitions," or " misuses of resources." Experiments connected with the efforts to industrialize an agricultural region, or to introduce untried crops or their new varieties among the farmers of a country always involve financial losses. The tariff policies of virtually every region have often been guided by

motives which economically have spelt nothing but wastes and misdirected energies. Hardly any patriotic venture to raise the technocratic *niveau* or socio-economic standard of a region has been a hedonistically rational, *i.e.*, profit-yielding business proposition. In very many spheres of life, including the material, financial considerations do not play the predominant rôle. Sheer losses, unpaying concerns, wastes have often to be undertaken in a deliberate manner. It is only in this sense, perhaps, that the Soviet economy can, if at all, be described as something irrational, unsuccessful, or uneconomic.

On a short-period view these outlays (like war-expenditures) have to be treated as losses from hedonistic considerations but at the same time as positive gains, contributions, services or achievements from non-hedonistic view-points. But even from hedonistic view-points these measures may have another appraisal if the mind be free enough to think beyond the day-to-day or weekly estimates and annual budgets *i.e.*, short-term results. In long-period valuations, not many of these efforts, measures, policies or plannings are likely to be appraised as losses or failures and therefore irrational or uneconomic.

The Political and Social Revolutions

The criticism of the totalitarian planned economy of the Soviet régime from an exclusively economic viewpoint is not perfectly reasonable. The Soviet economy is as yet by nature non-economic. Exactly when it may grow into a really economic system it is difficult to guess. But even under the third five-year plan (1938-42) the system is not calculated to allocate the economic resources with a view to " minimum expenses " and " maximum returns." The perfect methodology of the *homo œconomicus* cannot yet function in this régime. It is consciously going in for those methods which are relatively more expensive and less remunerative. The explanation is obvious, depending as it does on the very nature and content of the Bolshevik régime.

There is undoubtedly economics in the Bolshevik revolution. But a monistic " economic interpretation " cannot explain this revolution, as I have indicated in another context. The first important fact about it is that it is a political revolution. And the second important fact about it is that it is a social revolution. The political and social aspects are the two special contributions of the Soviet régime. Industrial expansion, mechanization, technocratization, rationalization, planification, centralization, estatization, etc.,—these are not specific Bolshevik patents. They belong to the paraphernalia of world-capitalism, especial-

ly in its adult phases. So far as these items are concerned, it has been pointed out several times that Soviet Russia's achievements are great by the standard of Czarist Russia but rather modest by the standard of the " adult " industrial-technocratic powers. This evaluation is in keeping with my " equations of world-economy." (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1941).

Incidentally be it observed that July 21, 1941 was celebrated as the " Soviet day " by some of the journalists, advocates and intellectuals of Calcutta. The manifesto issued by them made liberal use of the material furnished in Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *Soviet Communism a New Civilisation?* (London, 1936). But it is curious that this manifesto fought shy of communism and Marxism and merely eulogized the scientific, industrial, technical and educational achievements of the Bolsheviks. Evidently this kind of appreciation might be conferred on any and every country that has tried to modernize itself. By no means does this manifesto do justice to *the one thing* for which the Soviet régime is especially worth while, namely, communism as embodied in the two revolutions, political and social. In case Soviet Russia be held up for admiration on account of the activities which have become commonplace in the socialistic legislation of the two hemispheres since Bismarck introduced social insurance and other forms of state socialism it would be but betraying a lack of understanding in regard to the contributions of communism as distinguished from socialism.

Whatever be the value of the total industrial-technocratic achievements of Soviet Russia, they are not the only or even the chief features of the Bolshevik revolution. The really characteristic features have to be appraised adequately in every scientific estimate. Even without having political affiliations of any sort the objective student of Soviet Russia should not fail to point out that communism is its *differentium* from all other countries, socialistic or otherwise. My reactions to Soviet Russia as to other countries or to political programmes in general at home or abroad are purely academic. They have no party affiliations and are to be treated as entirely non-political and impersonal.

The political revolution of the Bolshevik régime has transferred power, prestige and position, from certain conventional individuals, families or groups to altogether new individuals, families or groups. The achievement of the Bolshevik régime in the political revolution is perhaps fairly complete and totalitarian. The large numbers of discontented and suppressed as well as depressed individuals, families and groups of the old pattern are being ignored for the time being in this

statement. For some time they are not likely to be in a position to raise their heads or open their mouths. The Russo-German war (since 22 June, 1941) may create new situations and furnish opportunities for the self-assertion of the suppressed non-communists and anti-communists. On the other hand, those individuals and groups belonging to the poor and the pariah classes who have got their first chances in life to rise as industrial experts, technical leaders and military-navalaerial captains are likely to be the stanchest champions of the Bolshevik régime. And their name is legion.

The objective of the social revolution in the Bolshevik régime is to liquidate the old proprietors of economic resources and create new proprietors. This liquidation combined with re-creation is being consummated in and through the abolition of private capital-profit-savings and the establishment of state capital-profit-savings.

It is the poor and the pariah,—*i.e.*, those classes who in conventional economics, politics, biology, eugenics and sociology are considered to be "unfit," incompetent, worthless, dysgenic and unqualified —that are being elevated inch by inch to higher economic, social and political levels. Training and education cost money. The expenses for the manufacture of experts in different lines have to be paid. The factories, workshops, farms and other business establishments in and through which the illiterates, unskilled workers and peasants are being built up as engineers, chemists, agrar-technicians, industrial leaders, military-naval-aerial experts and so forth cannot therefore afford to show tempting results in the balance-sheets of dividends and profits. The entire country of teeming millions is at school, so to say, and no schools or educational institutions are economically paying propositions. This is the most fundamental consideration in the economics of political and social revolutions as embodied in the Sovietic régime. It is not to be overlooked in any realistic analysis.

This social revolution requires to be analyzed by the economist rather carefully. As long as the economic motive is to annihilate the old proprietary foundations, the success of the Soviet economy is to be examined just in this particular sphere and not in the conventional spheres known to the economist. It is not necessarily the technically, intellectually or otherwise most competent individuals or groups that the Bolshevik régime is anxious to render prosperous. It is those individuals or groups that otherwise would hardly have the chances to taste any the least prosperity which are being consciously and deliberately elevated to the positions of relative opulence and culture. Discrimi-

nation is being planfully exercised by the Soviet régime against those individuals or groups that normally, *i.e.*, if left to themselves, might monopolize the economic resources. An economic system like this is not out to deliver the goods at the " cheapest rates " or incur the " least wastes " or " minimum expenses." " Imperfect competition " of the most extreme type is the *sine-qua-non* of this economics.

The charge against the Soviet economy that it is a system of greater wastes, higher costs, lower returns and more expensive goods or services than the bourgeois or competitive economy is, therefore, irrelevant. The wastefulness of this system by the ordinary capitalistic standard is to be taken for granted for some long time yet.

Similarly the Bolshevist régime does not care to invest the country's resources exclusively in those enterprises for which there are natural or traditional advantages in Russia. Its ambition is to develop those other lines along which the energies and resources of the men and women of Russia, if left to themselves, would never be directed. It is not the line of least resistance that the Soviet régime has cared to follow in agriculture, manufacture and commerce. Accordingly the last thing to look for in the Soviet economy is " economizing," the avoidance of wastes, the establishment of profitable enterprises, etc. The charge against the Bolshevik régime that it has been frittering away the Russian resources in hyper-industrialization, the production of *Produktionsmittel, i.e.*, of producers' goods, tools and machines, tractors, automobiles, aeroplanes and such other " luxury articles," and neglecting the adequate supply of consumers' goods is therefore another irrelevant criticism of this economy. It is part and parcel of the social revolution aimed at by the Bolshevik régime to promote for a certain period those economic activities which, normally speaking, have not attracted the Russian investors of the capitalist régime. The fact that in the Russo-German war (since 22nd June, 1941) the German commanders are admitting the powerful resistance offered by the Russian army is proof positive that the hyper-industrialization and super-technocratization promoted by the five-year plans have been justified.

In the competitive or capitalistic economies of the bourgeois world more or less similar phenomena are perceptible in diverse fields. In " The Theory of Wages in the Light of Social Insurance and Public Finance " (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, July, 1936) I have pointed out that the wage systems of today are uneconomic or non-economic. The wage rates are not determined exclusively by competition, demand and supply, or the total costs, etc., as we generally

believe. As long as the workingmen's premia for sickness, unemployment, old age and other forms of social insurance come in part from the state both the workingmen and the employers assume, so to say, the character of the " pupils " or wards of the community. The wages as well as dividends are thereby endowed with social, political and at any rate non-economic characteristics. The rates do not happen to be what they are because the natural or competitive conditions of the market determine the marginal productivity or utility in a particular manner. They depend chiefly on the fact that the society through the government wishes that certain enterprises have to be carried on by private investors, employers and businessmen in the interests of the country. The more significant fact in this pattern is that in order to enable the businesses to function the bourgeios state is prepared to subsidize them indirectly by offering premium grants for the workingmen's social insurance, and thereby relieving the employers of the burden of paying adequate wages. It is not only workingmen that are protected or subsidized by the state in and through this system of " imperfect competition " as embodied in social instance, but the financiers and capitalists as well.

The entire Soviet economy may be regarded as a huge all-comprehensive and totalitarian embodiment of this principle of State-financed social insurance as obtaining in the capitalistic-competitive-bourgeois economies. Certain groups of men and women are being paid wages or salaries in Soviet Russia at certain rates without reference to the returns from their services because the Bolshevik state recognizes the claims of those groups as a necessity of the community.* In the same manner certain industries, trades and agricultural occupations are being financed in Soviet Russia without reference to their worth as paying concerns because the Bolshevik state considers these enterprises to be the national requirements of the Russian people.

Another illustration may be found in the war-economies of bourgeois states. During war conditions it is military necessity that dictates every item in the national economy. Roads, railways, canals, farms, industries, trades, banks, business houses,—everything is created, remodelled, demolished, or rationalized with a view to the supreme demands of war. Exactly how much of these activities, transactions or enterprises is economic, *i.e.*, rational in the hedonist calculus of the *homo œconomicus* is a matter for lengthy debates. Anti-war parties in

*See the Section on " Payment according to Social Value " in S. and B. Webb: *Soviet Communism—A New Civilisation?* (London, 1936), Vol. II, pp. 712-715.

every state do not refrain from challenging the utility or economical worth-whileness of many of the financial outlays which the war-authorities undertake. The only reply to such anti-war economic ideologies is military necessity.

In Soviet Russia, likewise, it is the demand of the social revolution that dictates everything in the economic system from the starting of a tractor factory to the abolition of the individual *moujik* (peasant) farm. The economist, armed as he is with his Ricardian or neo-Ricardian mathematics, is sure to find many of these Sovietic enterprises as tissues of wastes, losses, incompetent managements, uneconomic activities from top to bottom. But there can always be one reply from the Bolshevik régime. It is the interest of the social revolution that is being furthered by all these means, wasteful although some of them may appear to certain eyes. While discussing the investments or payments from the standpoint of "social value" it is not necessary, of course, to justify real wastes, *i.e.*, reckless losses, destructions, etc., brought about by negligence, sabotage, or unskilled management. Such wastes may be controlled and remedied as a result of training, experience, discipline and cumulative activity.

The Non-Economic Dharmas of the Soviet Régeme

The student of social metabolism cannot, in any case, afford to ignore some of the non-economic *dharmas, satyas,* etc., already developed in the Soviet régime. In the first place, a very large number of men and women may be taken to have acquired self-consciousness and individuality on account of the new methods of living associated with industrialism and technocracy. The standard of living of poor and pariah families may likewise be taken to have been raised under this system. The individuality and the higher standard of life have certainly promoted a new *morale* and a novel orientation to mankind and the universe. What ought to be described as a new spirituality is undoubtedly pervading the thoughts and activities of many peasants and illiterates. The impact of this *morale* and spiritual force on the fighting aptitudes and military strength of certain sections of the soldiers and officers should have to be counted as a positive fact. And this is independent of the consideration as to whether or not such sections are confirmed socialists or communists. (See the Section on "The Political and Social Revolutions").

Secondly, however dictatorial the leaderocracy of Soviet Russia may happen to be, there is no gainsaying the fact that millions of men

and women have got acculturated to discussions, debates, conferences, criticisms and counter-criticisms of public questions of the most varied character. Government by discussion has become a reality in the social ecology of Russia under the Bolsheviks. From the meanest village soviet up to the highest presidium of the cosmopolis there is no rung of the political, constitutional or administrative hierarchy where men and women are not habitually called upon to discuss in meetings or conferences. This is a kind of democracy which was unknown in the encyclopædia of public life in Czarist Russia. Bolshevik Russia is a subcontinent of legion or myriads of popular assemblies, committees, commissariats, commissions, councils, boards, and so forth.* This democratic background of the new society established by the politics of Soviet Russia will have to be appraised at its proper worth while estimating the military value of the Bolshevik troops and generals. This also is to be treated as something independent of the socialistic or communistic economic ideologies.

Last, but not least, must be mentioned the intensification of the traditional patriotism, love of fatherland or nationalism of the Russian people. Although theoretically unassimilable to the Marxist ideologies of class-struggle and international proletariat without fatherlands, nationalism or patriotism has perhaps never been crushed or eclipsed in the Sovietic régime. Rather, the students of social metabolism might not be very far from the truth if they were to believe that like Pan-Slavism or Westernism of the nineteenth century, Bolshevism (communism) is but one of the Russian forms of nationalism, being indeed the latest. Or, in any case, whatever may have been the tenets of Marx or Lenin in regard to nationalism *vis-à-vis* class-struggle, socialism, communism or *Proletkult*, the Stalin régime since 1924 has been systematically promoting the cult of the country or the homeland, the war against enemies, the nation's heroic past, and the glories of Russian language, tradition, achievements and culture in no ambiguous manner. There can be no equation between Stalin and Lenin in this regard.

Soviet nationalism manifested itself in patriotic pride in the achievements of the first five-year plan (1928-32). About that time Russian workingmen, engineers and publicists felt convinced about their national mission in the world. Love for their home-land became a-

* For " Democrary in Soviet Despotocracy " see B. K. Sarkar : " Demodespotocracy and Freedom " (*Calcutta Review*, January 1939). Compare S. and B. Webb : *Soviet Communism : A New Civilisation?* (London, 1936), Vol. I. See the diagram of administrative structure, pp. 460-461.

passion with them. According to M. T. Florinsky,* it was nationalism that won the day and became the cornerstone of domestic and foreign policies. By 1937 the Comintern ceased to be the organ of the international proletarian revolution but was transformed into an instrument exclusively of Russian foreign policy, as says F. Borkenau.† "Patriotism," "fatherland," national heroes, Pan-Slavic ideologies, "Great-Russian" sentiments and such other items as used to be condemned as bourgeois, capitalistic or counter-revolutionary were re-introduced with vengeance by the press, the radio, the cinema and the platform along with the "United Front" strategy of 1935. In January, 1939, the oath taken by the army of Soviet Russia changed its socialistic character for nationalistic. The previous pledge had been to the "great aim of emancipating all workers" and to the service for "socialism and the brotherhood of peoples." The new oath required the soldier of Soviet Russia to "serve to his last breath his people, his homeland and the government of the workers and peasants" as well as to defend his land until her final victory over her enemies.‡

This patriotism is as divorced from communism and internationalism as conceivable. Evidently it is a mighty force inspiring numerous individuals and groups,—both military and civilian,—and without doubt it is being tested in the Russo-German War of today (since 22nd June, 1941). Nationalism is, then, a *dharma* in Soviet Russia.

Communistic Planning under Trial

In so far as the Soviet régime is something out of the way, students of social progress as, indeed, the entire world, have naturally been curious to see how it fares under a serious examination. It so happens that the trial is already before us. May be, the test has come rather too early for the régime's achievements and preparations. Nothing could be a more severe test for any socio-economic, economico-political or industrial-technocratic system than that to which Soviet Russia has been exposed since the outbreak of the Russo-German war on 22nd June, 1941. Apart from many other things mankind in the two hemispheres has been especially watching the military-naval-aerial strength of the Bolsheviks as put to trial by this war.

* *Towards an Understanding of the U.S.S.R.* (New York, 1939), pp. 92-94. See *Nationalism* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1939), p. 76.

† *The Communist International* (London, 1938), p. 419.

‡ *Nationalism* (London, 1939), p. 78.

Military science or the art of fighting is neither politics nor economics. It functions independently of, although not indifferently to, economico-political ideologies. The capabilities of the Russians under the Sovietic régime as fighting animals cannot, therefore, be foretold on the basis of arguments derived from the diverse kinds of socialism, economic planning or state-capitalism. None but technical experts in the fighting profession should be entitled to forecast the eventual developments of the war that is proceeding.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH IN RETROSPECT

M. Tahir Jamil, M.A., B.E.S.

IV

NATURE had been to Wordsworth, from his early days, a source of infinite joy and happiness, later developing into an object of love, respect and awe. After the first stage of juvenile joy and rapture in the presence of Nature the poet passed beyond sensationalism and no more cared for the "soulless image on the eye." [1] His sensuous alertness discovered that Nature was a living and a moving force, a free and an active being. She not only roused our senses to activity, but was also a power to check and restrain us when we went astray. Thus in the school of Nature Wordsworth found the most solid basis for real training and development of the perfect man, as he has told us in his famous poem, "*Education of Nature.*" She stands before him as a separate entity with a distinct personality, and extends her benevolent care to all things, and to the heart and mind of man if he brings with him a spirit "that watches and receives." Her gentle ministrations, then, will build up his moral being, and mould his character in a more effective and more eloquent manner than any preaching can, for

> "She has a world of ready wealth,
> Our minds and hearts to bless—
> Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,
> Truth breathed by cheerfulness." [2]

Hence the bold declaration of the poet that

> "One impulse from a vernal wood
> May teach you more of man ;
> Of moral evil and of good,
> Than all the sages can ". [3]

1 "Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey."
2 "The Tables Turned."
3 Ditto.

The same idea of moral discipline and strength gained through the "divine vitality" of Nature is also recorded in the "Tintern Abbey" poem, when he makes her responsible for all his moral being. As compared with her "sweet lore", the books of science and of arts are barren leaves, while "our meddling intellect mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things." [1] In all these assertions there is something of the truant school-boy who would sit upon the old grey stone and dream his time away, together with a dislike for the established system of education that killed the initiative of the child by imposing its second-hand stock of knowledge. But in the main they form, as Raleigh rightly points out, "the corner-stone of his poetry." [2] There has been a good deal of controversy with regard to this theory of Wordsworth, and Morley dismisses it as a "half-playful sally for the benefit of some bookish friend," [3] but such a summary dismissal of it is doing injustice to the poet who lived in that faith all his life. There are others of a more sceptical school of thought who find the cosmic process either entirely non-moral, or, as Huxley suggests, hopelessly antagonistic to men's highest ethical ideals. A superficial mind may find in such a view the dark realism of the relentlessly cruel and destructive side of nature with her "simple and barbaric code," [4] but if we examine the facts coolly we shall find that the truth is on the side of the poet. Man, as he has been placed, finds himself hemmed in on all sides by Nature, and, whatever divine qualities he may possess, he cannot be immune from the influences of her overwhelming power. He is a part of hers in his bipartite existence and she, as the nurse and guide of his material being, cannot be denied the part she plays in the training of his intellect, feeling, sense and passions, so that they may grow in wisdom and strength. The essential condition of this education, however, as the poet repeatedly impresses upon his readers, is volition. The mind must select the best portion of natural impulses, interpret them in such a way that the better feelings of man may find themselves reflected and magnified, and then make adequate responses to them so as to produce in it intensity of feeling, tender emotions and a sense of oneness. It must freely give in order to be the happy recipient of all that Nature can then yield to it. It

1 "Expostulation and Reply."
2 W. Raleigh: "Wordsworth," p. 131.
3 J. Morley: "Introduction to the Poems of Wordsworth," p. lxiii.
4 A. A. Jack: "Shelley," p. 48.

will then be overjoyed to find its own sense of "moral loveliness and calm" quickened and strengthened through the serene beauty and gracious charms of Nature.

In moments of reverie, Wordsworth found Nature animated throughout by the ubiquitous divine life, that gave its beauty a meaning, "its grandeur a soul, its sublimity an expression," [1] and invested it with spiritual powers. In fact, his spiritual view of Nature had made him regard with respect the mythological religions of old. He regarded them not as fancies but as clear proofs of the fact that "man is never without some witness of the divine spirit in the world—imperfect witnesses, cloudy symbols, but still symbols of a truth." [2] Here again we find a close affinity between Wordsworth and the German philosophers, Schelling and Hegel, both of whom saw partial revelation of truth in obsolete mythological creeds, perhaps "more truth in them than in the abstract Supreme Being the deistic enlightenment." [3] In his own case, as the poet tells us in the sonnet, "*The World is too much with us*," he will prefer to "be a Pagan suckled in a creed outworn" and enjoy the bliss from the feeling of nearness of the divine power, than submit himself to a faith that banished God altogether from the universe.

This duality of mind and nature as two distinct existences was only a short-lived stage in the nature-philosophy of Wordsworth. He was "in line with Platonic tradition," [4] in his search for the spiritual principle of unity that knit together the diversity of creation but believed, at the same time, in the reality and importance of sense impressions. To reconcile the two was the problem of the day, and Wordsworth solved it by announcing his theory in the "*Tintern Abbey*" and "*The Prelude*," that Nature and Mind are fitted to each other in a pre-arranged harmony, one acting and reacting upon the other because mystical awakenings and spiritual realisations have been mostly initiated by a deep response to the sensuous. It has been so at least in his own case. In the midst of the peace, harmony and beauty displayed by Nature, the mind does not feel an alien or a stranger but is gladdened by recognising in her various forms the

1 W. Bagehot : "Literary Studies," I, p. 172.
2 A. C. Bradley, *A Miscellany*, p. 126.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
4 Dean Inge, *Platonic Tradition*.

expression of a life akin to its own. As a result, in the words of the poet, it finds that,

> "Love, now a universal birth,
> From heart to heart is stealing,
> From earth to man, from man to earth;
> —It is the hour of feeling." [1]

It may sound beautifully mystical to some, but it is the real experience of men with contemplative temperament whose soul is apt to make deep responses to sense-perception and attach to it a moral value. Alone with Nature when they "have most shaken off the coil of self and the troubles of the world," [2] and with their hearts open to her appeals, they feel the true philosophy of Nature, and their own being irresistibly impresses itself upon their minds. What that philosophy is, the poet summarises in one word, namely Love. It exists not only in relation to the objects of Nature amongst themselves, exhibited most through their feeling of unrestrained and uninterrupted joy, but in that extended "affection and sympathy" which they seem to bear for man, and in the reflex action of the mind when it entertains a corresponding sense of love for them. This awakening of real and deep emotions is the high road to mystical intensity, not by way of abstraction but by the power of intuition. It finds Nature respiring "with inward meaning," and the objects before the sight transfused with "the blessed power that rolls about, below, above." The creation of these new values—moral and spiritual—leads man naturally to old symbolic interpretation of Nature. She no longer stands between him and the contemplation of God, but retires to the background, permitting man to view all things as manifestations of the one eternal divine life that informs and upholds them:

> "All like workings of one mind, the feature
> Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
> Characters of the great Apocalypse,
> The types and symbols of Eternity,
> Of first, and last, and midst, and without end." [3]

The mood possesses the ardour and warmth of revelation, and tells us that the mantle of the seer has fallen upon Wordsworth's awakened

[1] *To My Sister.*
[2] S. A. Brooke, *Theology in the English Poets*, p. 99.
[3] *The Prelude*, VI, 635-699.

soul. The mystical experiences, consequently, become frequent, and he accepts the role of a teacher and a prophet. His philosophy takes a deeper tone and his sympathetic and reverential observation of the external reality makes him experience emotional exaltation, producing in him the consciousness of a unifying principle that combined the world self and God in one whole. Utterances expressing this mood have been commented upon as pantheistic or mystical, but originally they idealise nature from a transcendental point of view in varying degree of intensity. In them the poet penetrates beyond the sense, intensifies the image till it becomes "a living thought," and then by a willing surrender of the whole being—will, passion and emotion—his soul finds in it "the presence which is not to be put by"[1] a smile of the Eternal Mind. Then he becomes immediately aware of the Cosmic Being, the Soul of the Universe, and, transcending the limits of "toiling reason," is lifted to

> ....."that blessed mood
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world
> Is lightened..... ....
> .....
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul."[2]

The mind of the poet, aided by the volitional intensity of penetration and depth of feeling, reaches the highest mood of mysticism when physical sense is transcended, "the light of sense goes out,"[3] distinctions vanish, and the soul feels itself restored to the larger order of existence from where it sees "into the life of things." In a flash of insight, as it were, the invisible world is revealed to the soul, with its own order of moral and spiritual truths, infinite perfection, and assurance of the soul's sublimity of essence so that it can recognise its glory and aspire after its divine consummation.

Nature has been thus lifted up and placed, through her ideal sublimity, upon the same level as the abstract subjects of solemn

1 *Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey.*
2 *Ibid.*
3 *The Prelude*, VI, 602-603.

meditation by the theologians. From faith in Nature Wordsworth soars to the spiritual feeling of joy in the presence of God, who manifests Himself through the minutest to the greatest, and the consciousness of God makes the poet look upon Nature as His language to be read and understood by the divine capacity of the mind. It thus completes the cycle in which self, Nature and God move in perfect unity, and the "mighty world of eye and ear," the starting point of Wordsworth's philosophy, becomes the constant pointer to God, its Author and our home.

V

We have so far seen how Wordsworth interpreted the growth of knowledge, and what was the significance of Nature from his transcendental point of view. We shall now proceed to discuss how it affected the growth of his love for Man, because we must remember that he "was as much, if not more, the poet of Man as of Nature."[1] The passion was not the effervescence of spasmodic revolutionary zeal, but the result of a slow process of growth. In the words of the poet:

> "My thought by slow gradation had been drawn
> To human-kind, and to the good and ill
> Of human life."[2]

This characteristic will be evident to any student of Wordsworth who goes through the Advertisement to the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798 and subsequent Prefaces where the poet bases the merits of his poetry not on aesthetic theories, but on the "natural delineation of *human* passions, *human* characters, and *human* incidents." The attitude was the result of the boy's early love for natural surroundings where he found man always standing "a lord and master,"—though placed against the background of the relentless powers of Nature. And thus, he tells us, was man

> "Ennobled outwardly before my sight,
> And thus my heart was early introduced
> To an unconscious love and reverence
> Of human nature."[3]

[1] S. A. Brooke: *Theology in the English Poets*, p. 134.
[2] *The Prelude*: VIII, 677-79.
[3] *The Prelude*: VIII, 275-79.

There is nothing philosophical in this early feeling, which was an "unconscious" emotion aroused in his sensitive mind by sympathy for his kind, participating in their sorrows and sufferings, and exulting in their victory and triumph. The love became conscious and active when the poet was in Revolutionary France. He also drank deep from the fountain of the creeds of Rousseau and Godwin, and found in Man

"an object of delight,
Of pure imagination and of love." [1]

Man now claimed the entire thought of the poet, who announced his theme, thenceforth, to be "no other than the very heart of man,

"Wise in passion and sublime in power,
Benevolent in small societies
And great in large ones." [2]

Man, as pictured here, was to reach this stage through an exercise of the simple laws of his own nature and by a proper cultivation of his reason. He was to walk

"None restraining, and by none restrained,
Confessed no law but what his reason taught,
Did all he wished, and wished but what he ought." [3]

This rosy picture of a free and perfected humanity was broken by the crisis of his life. He found that the Man he had adored so long was the "spectral representation" of what he ought to be, but was far removed from the real Man with all his folly and crimes and meaner passions. In consequence of such a set-back to his idealistic faith, he renounced the unqualified assertion both of individual personality and of the "general will," and went back to the "natural man" as he had known him since his childhood, at once "Nature's child" and her master. And as Nature had restored him to his earlier mystical faith in her, so the simple lives and virtues of the humble rustics aroused in him a sense of man's intrinsic spiritual glory so that he stood in "Nature's scheme of Happiness":

"As, of all visible natures, crown, though born
Of dust, and kindred to the worm: a Being,
In every capability of rapture,
Through the divine effect of power and love;

[1] *The Prelude*: [2] *Ibid.* V. [3] *Descriptive Sketches.*

As, more than anything we know, instinct
With godhead, and, by reason and by will,
Acknowledging dependency sublime."[1]

The foundation of his rejuvenated faith in humanity lay deep in the idealised memory of childhood. It led him to gain an insight into the profound mystery of human existence and facilitated the enunciation of his theory of the Divinity in the Child. Wordsworth imparted to this theory the veracity of personal experience as he recounted the memory of his childhood instincts and intuitions. To him the simple and innocent child preserved its spiritual nature as long as its personality remained immune from the vicious influences of environment. In infancy, he tells us,

"Trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."[2]

"Heaven lies about us" during this period. Having recently left its home of glory and finding itself an exile in an altogether different world, to the poetic fancy of Wordsworth it appears as if it were feeling the loneliness of its new surroundings but were supported and comforted by some sort of divine presence before it. The faint smiles of an infant convey this fanciful idea to the poet and he takes them as

"Tranquil assurances that heaven supports
The feeble motions of thy life and cheers
Thy loneliness."[3]

The child in the first few years of its life, according to this theory, retains this "divine intelligence" and seems to know intuitively some of those truths which the wisest among us reach after tedious process of reasoning. It sometimes startles us with words of wisdom beyond its years because it possesses "soul's immensity" which grown-up people have lost in the "light of common day." It is, therefore, hailed as the

"Mighty prophet, seer blest!
On whom those truths do rest,
Which we are toiling all our lives to find,
In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave."[4]

1 *The Prelude*: VIII, 487-94.
2 *Ode on Intimations of Immortality.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*

"*Anecdotes for Fathers*," "*We Are Seven*," and the sonnet, "*It is a Beauteous Evening*," are all studies of the wisdom that the child is capable of teaching and which the poet learns in a deep spirit of reverence. Though it may be incapable of systematic, serious thinking and coherent expressions, yet the signs of rapture and deep emotions unmistakably convey the intuitive, inexpressible sentiments that it possesses, and convince the poet that despite its failure to convey the truth in a more tangible way its "nature is not therefore less divine." So he exclaims:

> "Thou liest in Abraham's bosom all the year;
> And worship'st at the Temple's inner shrine,
> God being with thee when we know it not." [1]

In simple childhood the poet thus found "something of the base" [2] on which man's greatness stands. It was the naturalistic theory of Rousseau spiritually interpreted. It connected the being of the child, "glorious in the might of heaven-born freedom," with the old Platonic idea that the human soul existed in the spiritual region before its birth into this world and that all its knowledge here was the recollection of the universal knowledge that possessed in its pre-natal state. Critics have disagreed much on this deification of childhood, and hard-headed psychologists shake their heads in grave doubt. Their experiments in laboratories tell them that children are little animals who display more brute-like than divine qualities. Even their characteristic simplicity, innocence and sweetness carry to these sceptics no higher value, because they explain these qualities as arising, not from wisdom, but from ignorance and inexperience. In spite of such a dark view there are, however, educationists amongst us who place the child much above the animal. They, of course, do not see it as lying in the "bosom of Abraham," but they still find that the "child is father of the Man," and that the powers of childhood, and the spontaneous, instinctive urge of that period are transformed to higher intellectual and spiritual ones with maturity. The modern theory of education would allow, with Wordsworth, much scope for the free and unhampered growth of the child's personality. In regarding it as a potential moral being it gives us a reasonable basis for the interpretation of the mystic theory of the poet. After we dismiss the

[1] *It is a Beauteous Evening.*
[2] *The Prelude*, V, 27-45.

claim of pre-existence as a poetic device (and Wordsworth, as he explained later, had used it as such), we find ourselves at once in the more tenable position of discovering in the child a philosopher *in posse*, who comes with innate forms of thought implanted in its nature by God, and the proper development of whose mind depends upon the preservation and intensity of that "celestial light." It is the transcendental idea of the divinty in Man that has been expressed with exaggerated vehemence when it is connected with the fond memories of happy and care-free childhood, but it assumes the sobriety of a philosophic truth when it deals with the primal feelings of humanity. To Wordsworth the conception of the World-Soul immanent in man was of greater significance than the fancy of personal pre-existence.

Mr. Pierce does an injustice to Wordsworth when he says that the poet's "attitude towards life approximated to that of the scientist, who, in his eager search for new truths, may at once grow inspired and unsocial."[1] He further tells us that Wordsworth loved the abstract ideal more than he loved men, and concludes his curious estimate of the poet by calling him "an inspired experimenter in the field of vision, and a harsh, tactless, antagonising fellow mortal." As we have attempted to show in the preceding pages, the poet never introduced a cleavage between the ideal and the real. Like his skylark, he was always "true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home," and though he frequently soared to high philosophic regions of thought, he never attempted to impose it in a deliberate and abstract manner. In his treatment of man, as of nature, the poet has offered us his solutions to the many moral problems of our existence, with the ingenuity of a scientific discoverer, no doubt, but he preserved at the same time the vitality of the common and concrete facts of life. Thus he saved himself from being unsocial like the scientist and the mystic, and has gained greater freedom and plasticity for the expression of his views. If he ever became an "antagonising fellow mortal" it was during the crisis of his life, when he lost his cordial relation with the simple worth of common life, and his recovery was effected through an emphatic recognition of spirituality in the "pure and tender interest of human lives, and a kind of sacred beauty in the simplest."[2]

[1] F. E. Pierce: "*Currents and Eddies in the Eng. Rom. Generation*," p. 314.
[2] J. Fotheringham: "*Prelude as a Study of Education*," p. 50.

Consequently, we find him investigating the amount of virtue and happiness possessed by the obscure rustics who were to him the specimens of humanity educated in the school of nature. Thus started his study of man which we summarise in his own words:

> " I began to enquire,
> To watch and question those I met, and speak
> Without reserve to them, the lonely roads
> Were open schools in which I daily read
> With much delight the passion of mankind,
> Whether by words, looks, signs, or tears revealed ;
> There saw into the depth of human souls,
> Souls that appear to have no depth at all
> To careless eye." [1]

The enquiry led him to Rousseauistic protest against the popular notion that education was the necessary foundation for morality, because he had heard,

> " From mouths of men obscure and lowly, truths
> Replete with honour ; sounds in unison
> With loftiest promises of good and fair." [2]

He was also much impressed by the apparent contrariety when he realised

> " How oft the high service is performed within,
> When all the external man is rude in show." [3]

This belief in the inborn greatness of human nature explains the selection of humble characters as his theme. By his subtle insight, he makes us enter into the " closest spiritual fellowship with the lowest and most forsaken of the earth." [4] Transcending outward appearances and the accidents of birth and position, Wordsworth was attracted to them by those primal affections and inherent virtues which are common to the race and are learnt neither in the schools of theology nor of metaphysics, and are above the accidents of time and space. This was the greatest point of affinity between the English poet and the German philosopher, Kant. Both of them declared that

1 " *The Prelude*," XIII, 160-8.
2 *Ibid.*, XIII, 183-5.
3 *Ibid.*, XIII, 227-8.
4 S. F. Gingerich : " *Essays in the Romantic Poets*," p. 91.

the moral worth of man does not depend upon his external circumstances but upon the degree of his adherence to the standard of truth and duty that he intuitively knows. Wordsworth's position, however, was more mystic than philosophic. His spontaneous delight in the nobility of human nature was so great that while he admitted the existing "degraded nature of man," he would never, for a moment, give up his faith in "that immortal and inextinguishable yearning for something pure and spiritual" even in the most depraved. In the words of Stopford A. Brooke, to him "none was so low as to be scorned without offence to God." [1] Even the immoral and the fallen claimed his compassion. In the old mendicant of Cumberland he saw a useful person, instrumental in drawing people to acts of true virtue and goodness, for

> "'tis Nature's law
> That none, the meanest of created things,
> Of forms created the most vile and brute,
> The dullest and most noxious, should exist
> Divorced from Good—a spirit and pulse of good,
> A life and soul, to every mode of being
> Inseparably linked." [2]

Goodness, therefore, exists in every human being, as it exists in every form of being in Nature, because they are both supported by the spiritual presence and energy of the Creator. In the case of man, the poet arrives at this truth by an analysis of his inner experiences which are universal in humanity and thereby give him surer data to work upon than the variable evidences of external experience. They are general but fundamental facts, and are revealed to every human being when his soul is illumined by the inner light. Wordsworth accepts this obvious line of thought, with no flavour of metaphysics, and travels beyond the obvious through rational reflection upon his experience and knowledge of human nature. "There's not a man," he declares:

> "That lives, who hath not known his god-like hours,
> And feels not what an empire we inherit,
> As natural beings in the strength of Nature." [3]

[1] S. A. Brooke: "*Theology in English Poets*," p. 167.
[2] "*The Old Cumberland Beggar*."
[3] "*The Prelude*," III, 191-3.

And in those "god-like hours" the soul seems to have shaken off its sleep and the "high instincts" waken up. Before them, man's "mortal nature" trembles "like a guilty thing surprised." It becomes conscious of its duties and rights of what it is and what it should be, and of the infinite capabilities that it possesses. These are the moments of deep religious consciousness, when he hears "echoes from beyond the grave, recognised intelligence," and intuitively knows them to be "of God—of God they are." Then great truths become the direct objects of his consciousness. They are grasped distinctly or vaguely, according to the capacity of the intellect, and their memory is preserved or lost according to its refinement. The power, nevertheless, remains unsubdued by the ordinary routine of life, resides in the centre of his being, and breeds "perpetual benediction." The "shadowy recollections" of the moments of enlightenment, fancifully attributed by the poet to the period of childhood, remain "the fountain-light of all our day," a "master light of all our seeing."

Does the poet, by means of all this idealisation of human nature, lead us merely to an "impassioned contemplation" as the "end-in-itself,"[1] or has he any practical design—is the question that seems to have puzzled some of his critics. To Pater, the aim of Wordsworth appears to be "not to teach lessons, enforce laws, or even to stimulate us to noble ends, but to withdraw the thought for a little while from the mere machinery of life, and to fix them with appropriate emotions, on the spectacle of those great facts in man's existence, which no machinery affects."[2] If our reading of the poet is correct, and his unabated popularity through the generations seems to uphold it, we find in him no sentimental enthusiasm, nor only a contemplative, unpractical outlook upon life, but a detailed and practical suggestion as to how society should be re-adjusted without summoning the demon of destruction. Hence in all his poems an emphasis upon the every-day facts of life which bring into play those "natural primary duties and affections" that lie within the reach of all—those first-born qualities and feelings that fit man to the existing order of things, and proclaim his freedom and dignity.

[1] W. Pater: "*Essay on Wordsworth*," p. 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62-3.

Morality makes an imperative demand upon the attention of Wordsworth as soon as he launches upon themes connected with man. At first he seeks for solace in the formal solutions offered by the philosophies of his own time, but the contradictions between the doctrines and the actual facts of experience become so overwhelming that he gives them up in despair and starts afresh on the strength of his own inner life. He is so thoroughly convinced of the inadequacy of second-hand information on these weighty problems that he declares:

> "What need of books ?
> Burn all the statutes and their shelves.
> We'll show that we can help to frame
> A world of other stuff."[1]

He will proceed independently and will show us how the moral world is made of those immortal qualities through which the spirit gains an intuition of the higher order of things, and finds itself

> "As more than anything we know, instinct
> With Godhead, and, by reason and by will,
> Acknowledging dependence sublime."

Reason and will form the pillars of such a world, freed from any dogma or any dream. They convince man of the reasonableness of his spiritual hopes. Through the power of volition and self-control he attains to the glory and dignity of a free being—a denizen of the intelligible world, above the control of inclinations and moods. In the "*Ode to Duty*," the poet celebrates such a happy consummation where the eternal and the temporal have been brought together in very close relationship. The individual completely submits himself to the control of that Power which is the stern Lawgiver of the universe and dwells within the heart of man. Duty here is not the short-sighted, calculative proposition of the Utilitarians, but is conceived in the Kantian way of obedience to the moral law within.[2] The sternness of the philosopher's point of view, however, has been relieved by the mystic element imparted to it when Wordsworth finds in it "the Godhead's most benignant grace," that guides man through

[1] "*Rob Roy*."

[2] In an admirable article on "*Wordsworth and Philosophy*," Mr. N. P. Stall-knecht has treated the sources of the poet's philosophical views. He is inclined to read the conception of "*duty*" entirely in the light of Kantian philosophy. *Cf.* Publications of Modern Language Association, Vol. XLIV, 1929, p. 1136 ff.

the ebb and flow of desires and vicissitudes of life, and postulates his freedom and immortality:

> "Possessions vanish, and opinions change,
> And passions hold a fluctuating seat ;
> But by the storms of circumstance unshaken,
> And subject neither to eclipse nor wane,
> Duty exists ;—immutably survive,
> For our support, the measures and the forms,
> Which an abstract intelligence supplies ;
> Whose Kingdom is, where time and space are not." [1]

And what gives it eternity is the immanent conception of God in the heart of man which has all along been the edifying belief of the mystics. To them conscience is the voice of God and all the edicts of our moral government are issued by that authority. Hence to Wordsworth the perfection of a noumenal being is attained only when the moral conflict ceases on account of the victory of good over evil and the "I ought" is changed to the "I will" by an act of "entire submission to the law"

> "Of conscience—conscience reverenced and obeyed,
> As God's most intimate presence in the soul,
> And His most perfect image in the world." [2]

This is the core of human life, the spiritual point of contact between the sensible and supersensible, not achieved by any kind of knowledge but as an act of practical faith:

> "By acquiescence in the Will supreme
> For time and for eternity ; by faith—
> Faith absolute in God, including hope,
> And the defence that lies in boundless love
> Of his perfections—." [3]

In spite of its theistic colour, which the poet developed in his later years, the passage is characteristically philosophic in its essence. It asserts both free-will and moral obligation in man. He is an

1. "*The Excursion*," IV, 69-76.
2. Ditto, 222-227.
3. Ditto, 10-27.

autonomous being self-limiting and above all limits, with an intuitive power to perceive the ideal-reality. It lies in his power to "acquiesce" in the task of carrying out the larger Divine Will, "be worthy of the grace of God,"[1] and fill his destined place, wherein lies the hope of his perfection and eternity, and the fulfilment of the calling of his higher nature, or he can will the little good. In the nobler types of character, however, as we have just said "the Kingdom of Heaven within" is set up through constant communion with the soul of the universe, and the establishment of a cordial and harmonious relationship between the law that governs the external world of Nature and the inner world of Man. They are urged to action in the "unerring light" of love that levels down all immediate considerations and selfish desires, and are compensated for their willing self-surrender by the thrilling joy in the holy union of their own will with that of God.

Wordsworth's dictum that "by our own spirits are we deified"[2] facilitates his passing yet to another vantage ground to teach his readers lessons of practical morality for the guidance of the daily conduct of their lives. He is not that type of optimist who closes his eyes to the hard facts of life or when he sees them wraps them up again "in the swuddling clothes of an equivocal rhetoric."[3] There are no half-truths in his way of thinking. He is not neglectful of the storms of distress and thunder-clouds of misfortune which at every step menace the life of man. His profound study of life has also made him see "what man has made of man." Once he was ignorant of this side of human nature due to the idealism of youth, but with wisdom born of mature judgment and experience that attitude is gone. In his new world there is no place for elysiums and arcadias. He has "submitted to a new control"—the humanising power of distress, suffering and evil. The bond of common fate awakens the sensibility of his soul to a sense of fellowship with man. He leaves the isolation of a poet's dream and bids farewell to

> "the heart that lives alone
> Housed in a dream, at distance from the kind!"[4]

[1] "*The White Doe of Rylstone*," Canto 2.
[2] "*Resolution and Independence*," VII.
[3] G. Santayana: "*Poetry and Religion*," p. 248.
[4] "*Elegaic Stanzas Suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle in a Storm.*"

Such a self-satisfied pleasure, he declares, is "surely blind," and is to be pitied because it lacks the courage to admit the existence of evil as reality and to settle its account with the "oppression of despair." His eye, however, "hath kept watch o'er man's morality," has been attentive to "the still sad music of humanity," and has now made him competent to offer his solution to this great enigma of life, the place of evil in the benevolent moral order of the universe. The happy Warrior is a type of hero created by Wordsworth to give us a solution of all our moral problems, and to present to us a perfect specimen of humanity with all the faculties equally developed, and in full possession of "the distilled essence of transcendental wisdom." [1] He is by no means a superhuman character, an idealistic representation of Man as he might be in a perfected world, but might represent any great man of the moment who has attained to glory and fame by an effort of the will and by recognition of duty. Instead of being carried by the force of impulses and of circumstances, he conquers and controls them, and transmutes the evil itself into a power for good by conceiving its laws as emanating from the plan and purpose of the universe as ordained by God. Hence the scenes of horror make the Warrior more compassionate, and his apparent disappointments and failures bring a cultural value to his soul that is awakened to greater spiritual consciousness, and triumphs over lower passions and sensible forms of happiness.

Wordsworth does not tell us all this because he has found in the moral system of Hartley "a central place given to compassion for undeserved human suffering," [2] and thereby preaches to us sentimental morality by arousing our sense of pity. His aim is certainly more elevated than that. He tries, in the words of Morley, "not only to move the sympathies of the heart, but to enlarge the understanding, and exalt and widen the spiritual vision, all with the aim of leading us towards firmer and austerer self-control." [3] Through his practical optimism, originating from his transcendental faith, he maintains the reality both of evil and of good. He admits the elements of baseness and selfishness in the natural man, but affirms with greater emphasis that he has the power to triumph over them in order to

[1] S. F. Gingerich : "*Essays in the Romantic Poets*," p. 155.
[2] O. J. Campbell : "*Sentimental Morality in Wordsworth's Narrative Poetry*," Un. of Wisconsin Studies, No. 11, 1920, p. 57.
[3] J. Morley : "*Introduction to the Poems of Wordsworth*," p. lxii.

reach the standard of an autonomous being. The " depths of vice and guilt " held up in a more striking glory the Divine in Man, the

> " One Spirit, over ignorance and vice
> Predominant, in good and evil hearts." [1]

His freedom consists in willing the good as an act of self-realisation in which lie his greatness and eternity. When this is attained the regeneration of humanity will be complete, for man will be conscious of the immanence of God within and will freely identify himself with the Divinity. And here again Wordsworth does not allow the material world to evaporate in the super-rational religious ecstasy, but identifies the absolute good with the general good and connects the highest form of self-realisation with the subordination of the individual end to the good of the whole. Perfection of life, he accordingly declares, is to be realised, if at all, in this very world where we live and move:

> " Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,—
> Or in some secret island, Heaven knows where !
> But in the very world, which is the world
> Of all of us, —the place where, in the end,
> We find our happiness, or not at all." [2]

This certainly is something more than an exhortation for the life of mere contemplation, or refined spirituality distinct from the race. Its strong note of practicability, its unquenchable faith in man, despite his finitude, and its unwavering belief in the life upon this world as the period for the complete development of human nature, in all its aspects, with a view to achieving union with the divine, are realities which cannot go unnoticed even by a casual reader.

We may, therefore, close our study of Wordsworth by remarking that without being a student of metaphysics he was the most philosophic poet of the group. He approached deep truths and perplexing problems of life from his own individual point of view, in which he approximated most closely to the Kantian position that placed the development of moral consciousness in man upon the two facts of life, " the starry heavens above and the moral law within "—both

[1] " The Prelude." [2] " The Prelude," XI, 140-4.

equally real and empirical. The procedure might seem too egoistic but philosophically it is quite sound. Like Socrates, he started with the practical method of knowing himself, and man, and nature. As he proceeded in his enquiry, wider vistas of truth became known to him, till his eyes could see in nature and in man more than is revealed to the vulgar gaze, and a mystical sense of spiritual kinship and unity with all men and things took possession of his soul. In nature he read divine messages and the feeling of God's immediacy came to him as the outcome of his subjective and intuitive enjoyment of the beauty of Nature and of the activity of his creative faculty. The feeling of infinite harmony, unity and oneness inevitably produced in him a state of ecstasy through which he became aware of soul's immensity and of God's presence within. This was the mystic in him that grasped the eternal values of life, but it always entailed for him a social implication and he sought to teach man how to transmute those values in his life through acts of virtue, piety, and unselfish love. Evil, too, had to be confronted in the path of the realisation of this higher self, and here, as nowhere else, the poet laid emphasis upon the God-like nature of man. If during its "angel-infancy" the soul used to be filled with divine light which had faded away in the bustle of life, it has to be directed towards its primal glory through a contemplation of the divine principle manifest in the beauty and harmony of the universe and in the primary sources of joy and happiness in man. He, thus, brought to a sceptical and sophisticated age the message that if on the one hand man was chained to the machinery of nature, on the other hand he claimed kinship with God. By virtue of this noble teaching, his poems have fulfilled his prophecy that they will "teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, to feel, and to become more actively and more securely virtuous." They provide an antidote to the crudities of modern life and fasten the attention of the reader upon the inheritance of heaven which, according to Wordsworth, is possible through Virtue and Duty alone.

MIRACLES OF HINDOO MAGIC AND OCCULTISM

P. C. SORCAR (*Magician*)

THERE is a widespread belief among the Westerners that India is the "Home of Mystery." There are good reasons for that. Magic and other similar occult sciences have had its principal seat among the primitive oriental nations—specially the Indians. "From the beginning of civilisation," says a wellknown Western authority on Yogic Science—"the orient has always been regarded as the head and front of what we may call Magic and Mysticism. For this eminence she is indebted to the reports of wonders worked by Eastern occultists, reports which have been accompanied by accumulated evidence, too convincing to be ignored."

Many are the wonders of "Hindoo Magic." One might go on relating a hundred or more of wonderful significance, and in every respect strange, which have been witnessed in this "Home of Mystery," which even in this twentieth century of merciless Western materialism, is more a fairyland than Arabia even was at the time of Harun-al Rashid.

India still holds the key to several mysteries. In the shades of her palmgroves, in the depths of her jungles, in the wild recesses of her mountains and behind the walls of her temples, there yet lurks many a secret, which will tax the ingenuity of the best reasoners for ages to come.

From the earliest ages, Magic has obtained highest consideration in Hindoosthan. Mr. Hoarst establishes the truth, that the collection of the Vedas contains many magical writings. He remarks that the Laws of Manu, in the code published by Jones mention various magical ceremonies which are permitted to be employed by the Brahmins (Chap. IX, p. 11). There exists also, in this country, a belief not less ancient that by the practice of certain austerities, the penitents acquire an invincible and truly magical power over the elements, over men and even over the powers of heaven.

The torments which the *Yogis* or Indian penitents, impose upon themselves, are not borne by the individuals becoming insensible

through the influence of antidrugs but they are truly the results of an ambition to become worthy of eternal bliss.

The feats of the Indian *Yogis* make believe it. When the *yogis* bear torments by standing in a certain position for years, sometimes with his hand above his head, until it gets dry and become unfit for action, and others keep their hands closed until the nails pierce through the palms, others suspend themselves by the heels over the fiercest fires throwing combustibles into them, it will dumbfound even the most energetic critic. There are *Hatha Yogis* in India who can drink any poison, any acid and overcome its harmful effects. These and thousand others they observe are not the results of trickery and deception. It is firm Faith and Will Power which gives them this power of enduring tortures without any materia loss.

That many of them are sincere is demonstrated in their belief that even tigers will respect them, will come voluntarily to them and lie down and fondle and lick their hands—which really happens. Readers of Indian Daily newspapers many remember the name of Swami Krishnananda a Hindoo Yogi, who surprised all Simla when he went to pay a visit to His Excellency the Viceroy of India and the Lady Linlithgow accompanied by a lioness and a dog captivated by his strong Will Power.

Will Goldston, the reputed founder of London Magicians' Club has frankly confessed the wonders of Hindoo Magic. His opinion about these Hindoo Fakirs or "Magicians" is that "they possess a physical control and knowledge of which we have very little understanding.. .....The logical inference to be drawn from their feats is that these men have developed mental powers of which we know nothing. Their minds seem to be nearly the complete masters of their bodies. The Indian *Yoga* cult, with its ideal of physical and mental purity, is based essentially on these same powers. Advanced *Yoga* students secure a certain measure of internal cleanliness by stepping into running water and drawing a yard or more of bowel from their bodies. And we have seen the Fakirs can control their hearts in a most bewildering way."

From the above it is clear that the great principle which underlies the almost endless modifications of Hindoo occultism may be embodied in the term "Abstraction"—namely the attainment of as complete a state of introspective vision as possible by the

withdrawal of the senses of sight, hearing, touch, etc., from the external world. The true significance of the term Magic (*i.e.*, Hindoo Magic), is spiritual wisdom, in contradistinction with merely speculative philosophy or changeable scientific opinion. But the moderners have come to believe " magic " to mean mere slight-of-hand or perhaps conjuring or dealing with the devil or with spirits of the dead.

" The Hindoos," writes Dr. Laurence, " in their efforts to raise the veil which hides the mysteries of time and space discovered that which is apt to cause extreme surprise in the Western neophyte and which is destined to play a great part in the future of this country. Their triumph in this direction was the discovery and application of that strange Psychic Force known to the Western people as Hypnotism."

Hypnotism and Mesmerism have long since been known to the Indians under the name *Sammohan Vidya*. It is the key to the occult science. There was a time when this was the monopoly of the Eastern *Yogis*, whose mysterious hypnotic feats made them famous all over the civilized world. Those who are acquainted with the books on Indian Yogic culture or *Tantras* will find the reference on many occasions. In the '*Mahabharata*,' for example, in the '*Virata Parba*' we find Arjuna in the disguise of Brihannala throwing *Sammohan* (Hypnotic) arrows whereby all the enemies (*the Kauravas*) went asleep. This nervous sleep of the Kauravas and the " mass-hypnotism " of these days are the same. Similarly we find Indrajit shooting arrows like this and other gods too doing the same. Very often we find examples of Indian *Yogis* or mendicants known as the '*Kapalikas*' who hypnotise the boys and girls and carry them to their temple spell-bound. In the '*Tantra Sastra*' there are branches —*Mārana, Uchātana, Bashikarana*, etc. Hypnotism belongs to the *Bashikarana* group. Then among the eight '*Siddhis*' of *Yoga* namely *Anima, Laghima*, etc.—'Hypnotism' belongs to *Vasitva Siddhi*.' This sanskrit term '*Vasitva*' or '*Bashikarana*' means—" keeping under influence." Dr. J. Lapponi has rightly pointed out that— " The Medes, the Chaldeans, the Brahmins of India and the priests of ancient Egypt were certainly not ignorant of these phenomena. Some practices described, according to Lenorment, in cuniform writing, certain cases related by Maspero in the '*Historie ancienne des peuples de l'orient*,' many disturbing facts observed in primitive society and the wonders which even now-a-days are

worked by the Indian Brahmins, jealous guardians of the sacred traditions of caste, are all things which attest the great antiquity of the operations which constitute the hypnotism of our days." If we study the books on the subject we come to know that it is more than a century since Abbe Faria, a Portuguese abbot came to India and learnt many hypnotic practices from the Brahmins.

Dr. Bramwell in his book, "Hypnotism—its history, practice and theory" writes thus—

"Esdaile asserted that mesmerism had long been known in India; but believed that its secrets, which had descended from remote antiquity, were confined to certain castes and families. Thus when Dr. Davidson, late Resident of Jeypore, in upper India, visited the mesmeric hospital in Calcutta and saw the Native assistants stroking and breathing upon their patients, he said that he now understood what the *Jhar-phoonk* of upper India was; it was nothing but mesmerism. Many of his patients, after he had vainly tried to cure them of difficult complaints, used to ask leave of absence in order to be treated by the *Jaduwallah* and to his great surprise, they often returned cured shortly afterwards. In reply to his inquiries, they all said they had gone through a process called *Jhar-phoonk*, the meaning of which he could never make out. He now saw it before him in the continuous stroking and breathing of Esdaile's Mesmerisms. *Jharan* meant in Hindustanee 'to stroke' and *Phoonka* 'to breathe' which very exactly described the mesmeric processes."

From the above we find that Hypnotism and *Sammohan Vidya* are so closely related that the scientific-minded people do not agree where to draw the dividing line between them. Both of them belong to Applied Psychology. There is in all the miracles of Hindoo Magic and occultism, a vein of practicality which the West scarcely understands.

In Japan I was met by the representative of the famous Japanese daily 'Nichi Nichi,' who asked me to explain some of the miracles of Hindoo Magic and occultism: I said in reply:

"Hindoo Magic successfully challenges the known and well established laws of nature, facts which science reluctantly admits but fails to explain.

"One day, perhaps, science will be able to give a definite explanation. But that day is not yet come."

HISTORY AS SCIENCE

ATINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., P.R.S.

THE study of history is as old as the birth of man. The growth of the *homo sapiens* in the innumerable variety of life species is marked at every stage by yearning efforts to catch the fleeting moments of its past. The primitive man writes his cryptic messages on the primeval rocks and trees all for a niche in the remembrance of his descendants ; his thrills and passions, his fears and loves shape in songs of the hunting and pasture ground preserved later in ballads and sagas by some responsive ministrel. And the great facts and great heroes of their life, stirring up their imagination—facts they would preserve as object lessons, heroes they would apotheosise or crucify—they spin and spin these into old wives' tales, they garble them with the ethereal and the unknown, until facts are irretrievably lost into a maze of undecipherable fictions accumulating through generations and centuries. The hieroglyphs, the sagas and the legends are the beginning of historiography.

The instinct of catching and keeping the past is inherent in man. In the derisive language of Nietzsche this rumination and historical sense "injures and finally desrtoys the living thing, be it a man or a people or a system of culture." Man is being continually weighed down by this increasing self-chosen burden of the past from which brutes are happily free. But the past was not a dead-weight to the earliest historiographers nor to their clientele. For they did not haunt the wreckages of dead facts, to preserve the dead like mummies. They were not overborne by the mania of discovery and research clinging with childish greed to every little crumb of antiquarian find and investing it with an exaggerated importance. Love of knowledge and objective criticism were not there, history was a labour of love, a joy and a pastime—a spontaneous expression of human feeling, in the early days of its being.

Naturally it became the trade of the virtuoso. With the earliest bards, ministrels and singers, it became a chosen medium for the expression of the literary art. Later, even when facts began to be valued and knowledge cultivated for its own sake, it did not

still relieve itself of the aesthetic ideal. The ancient savants consciously upheld the ideal which with their predecessors was an instinct. Herodotus, known as the father of history was the first well-known exponent of this school and Livy belonged to it. Emile Ludwig is a modern representative and Prof. Trevelyan is perhaps the latest in the line of the literary-rhetorical type of historiography.

The elevation of history into a branch of the humanities was accompanied by the rise of another phenomenon. It became inured with a purpose and an ideal. The man of action and power, and the lover of art and poetry need examples and themes which they do not find among their contemporaries. Schiller, in this sense required it, for as Goethe says, "our time is so evil that the poet meets no nature among men that will profit him." Polybius understood political history as the true preparation for governing a state; it is the great teacher, that shows us how to bear steadfastly the reverses of fortune, by reminding us of what others have suffered. From Tacitus down to Lord Acton of our times most historians have been in one shade or other of this type. The Theologians of Rome impregnated their records with the idealism of the mediaeval church and facts were made to fit into a scriptural framework. The rationalist-idealists of the Liberal Enlightenment were distinguished by a belief in an absolute Law of Progress and an unlimited faith in the power of reason to transform society. Concepts such as Liberty, Science, Reason and Justice were conceived, not as abstract ideas, but as real forces which determine the movement of culture, and social progress, instead of being regarded as a phenomenon that requires explanation, is treated as itself the efficient cause of social change. Beliefs like this are more religious than sociological as Pareto has shown in his incisive criticism. But they still survive and the later patriotic, chauvinistic school flourishing in the different nationalist-military movements of Regeneration in Europe in the 19th century is another outstanding form of purposive history.

As the Greeks cultivated history as an art, the Germans brought history almost within the domain of the Geisteswissenschaften. "I hate everything that merely instructs me without increasing or directly quickening my activity" so says Goethe in his despise for knowledge which is a costly and superfluous luxury of the understanding. To Nietzsche, a historical phenomenon, completely understood and reduced to an item of knowledge, is, in relation to the

man, who knows it, dead.....Historical study is only fruitful for the future if it follows a powerful life-giving influence, for example, a new system of culture ; only, therefore, if it be guided and dominated by a higher force, and do not itself guide and dominate." Consequently, "History, so far as it serves life, serves an unhistorical power, and thus will never be a pure science like Mathematics."

Nietzsche's thesis is in a sense a return to Plato's belief that the less a science has to do with facts which are inevitably subject to perturbation and change, the more perfect it is, and the more it immerses itself in the sensible world, the less right has it to be considered as scientific. Science is concerned with the universal ; history with the particular. Science belongs to the world of absolute and eternal reality, history to the world of time and change. The scholars and scientists of the Renaissance handed down this ideal stripped of its metaphysical connotations ; and it had been continued to believe that history is a series of chance events of particular and individual character, of free human actions and consequently has no claim to the rank of science. One of the latest spokesmen of this theory is the late Edward Meyer. While with Nietzsche history was utilitarian and purposive and not ruminating and commemorative, useful only so far as it served the cult of life and youth, and abusive in its excess, with Meyer, "the modern attempts to transform the essence of history, and to set before it other and higher tasks, leave the historian unmoved: history exists once for all, such as it is, and will always maintain itself in this form, and the business of the historian is with things as they are and not with abstract theories. Whether history is valued more or less is a matter of no concern to him." (History of Antiquities, Intr. 1910.)

To both as well as to the ancient Greeks history is a mosaic of isolated facts. With Meyer it was an intellectual pastime, with Nietzsche, a tool to serve the nation. The opposition of history and science ignores the whole change that has passed over the world of knowledge since modern science and modern history made their appearance. Modern science does not aim, like that of the Greeks, at the contemplation of unchanging truth. It is inductive and experimental ; and it has been profoundly affected by the development of modern biology and the influence of the concept of evolution. The new sciences of living matter, such as botany and zoology, and

even non-biological sciences like astronomy and geology are profoundly historical in spirit. They do not contemplate a static universe, but an evolving process in which the time factor is of primary importance. History like other sciences is being more and more understood as an organic process.

The call to history to become a science had been sounded in the same land from where Nietzsche threw his challenge. The beginning of this claim is in the view that every event or condition is a stage in a continuous process of evolution. In the old days Thucydides was the nearest approach to the conception of scientific history grasping essential facts in the mass of legends and so ordering them as to exhibit a 'reasoned march of development.' He did not escape the didactic motive of teaching political lessons, but this purpose did not require dressing up of facts and "a true picture" was considered proper to convey the lessons. Chroniclers and annalists there have been with a Thucydidean approach but it required a broader vision to give history the rank and range of a scientific philosophy. With Hegel, history is the progressive self-manifestation of the absolute Mind. Institutions in fact are the idea, the idea realizing itself. Every idea contains a positive and a negative element. Each is essential to, and comes to be by reason of, its opponent. There comes a stage in the history of the idea when its utility for its age draws near completion ; its antithesis then begins the work of creative destruction only to be destroyed in its own turn as its purpose is fulfilled. Although the Hegelian pan-logism has been regarded by later sociologists as a piece of historical curiosity his dialectic became the accepted methodology of later scientific history. Marx was the first to see the significance of the method as a factor in social analysis. He got light from the Hegelian notion of each age producing the corrective to its own error. As Feuerbach and Strauss applied the Hegelian dialectic to the destruction of Christianity, so Marx applied it to the destruction of Capitalism. His material interpretation of history is simply the insistence that the material conceptions of life, taken as a whole, primarily determine human thought and action. It is not some Inner Idea, or World Spirit or Natural Reason which effect changes. Institutions and ideas are brought into being by the productive forces of society and react in their turn upon them. Law, religion, polity, relation between men as individuals and as members of social groups

are all determined by the system of production that obtains. The system of production results in division of the people into classes of exploiters and the exploited. History is merely the progressive development of the class struggle of which the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the final stage.

With the confident forecast of the final revolution, of proletarian dictatorship and of classless society we are not concerned for the moment. His dialectic materialism, so far as it is applied to the study of historical evolution has made a profound impression on modern thought, and historians of almost every shade of opinion have now to admit the deep-seated influence of material causes and productive structures on every phase of human movement and cultural development. Once the theories of "spiritual influence," "free moral agent" and "chance happenings" are liquidated and facts are traced to material factors, scientific study of history comes within the range of possibilities.

This, of course, has not yet been done to perfection. Modern biology and experimental psychology have sought to explore the entire gamut of human feelings and actions. After the collapse of Watson the researches of Pavlov and Bechterev sought to revive the behaviourist's claim to trace every feeling and thought and action to some glandular secretation or operation of the nerves. Big strides have been taken and possibilities opened but much more remains to be done. Even if it be possible to explain human actions by the structure of the glands and nerves, there remains the much more formidable task of establishing the relations between the finest structural differences and their synthetic results. The structure of every man has to be studied scientifically, the motives of every man analysed and the resultant forces traced out of billions of tendencies running together, straight or crooked, parallel or across, forward or backward.

All this only shows that the chain of facts, past, present, or future cannot be explained with mathematical precision and certitude. It remains established that social events are guided by certain general laws which no longer belong to the "shifting clouds of heaven," but to "the hard daily work on earth." Buckle first raised the cry from a historian's platform. He deplored that historians had failed "to rise from particular facts" to "the laws by which those facts are governed." His ambitious attempt "to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous" to what had

been accomplished " by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science " has not been successful ; but it has transformed the whole outlook of history. It has not yet been possible to state, after the Pythagorean theory, that in a certain combination of the stars, a Stoic and an Epicurian will form a conspiracy to murder Caesar and in a different combination another Columbus will discover America. The realities of history are unique, each the resultant of particular earthly forces which in their numerous combination have an infinitesimally little chance of recurring. But the so-called repetition of history is not a mere phrase ; there are factors common between a number of facts. Historical study consists in delineating the common elements and peculiarities out of these realities.

The sociological laws so far as they have been found operating or the facts of history repeating themselves need no recounting to students of history. Scientific history has not only established the method of analysing events, it has also brought a vast field of events within its scope. Twenty-two years before Buckle, Carlyle voiced the claim of history to a comprehensive social content. " From of old," the historians had he protested, too often " dwelt with disproportionate fondness in senate houses, in battlefields, nay, even in king's antechambers," forgetful of the rest of the world, " blossoming and fading whether the ' famous victory ' were won or lost." The outlook was changing and a time coming " when he who sees no world but that of courts and camps, and writes only how soldiers were drilled and shot, and how this ministerial conjurer out-conjured that other..... will pass for a more or less instructive Gazetteer, but will no longer be called an historian."

Carlyle belied his own cause when he wrote the History of the French Revolution (1840). Macaulay was more consistent. The perfect historian shows us not only the court, the camp and the senate. He shows us also the nation. " Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line." In his History of England (1848—2 vols.) Macaulay was nearer to the ideal than his predecessor.

Viewed in the bigger social perspective, history is a science closely allied to sociology and anthropology. And the main problem of history becomes the same as the problem of these sister sciences, *viz.*,

not so much to trace out facts in their microscopic variety but to trace the causal relation between broad and general facts. History and sociology thus become supplementary branches of knowledge. History without sociology is " literary " and unscientific, while sociology without history is apt to become mere abstract theorising.

The writing of history thus receives a new orientation and a vast field of research is opened up for patient enterprise. We have to split and analyse the cultural units from time immemorial and seek for records outside the Foreign Office. The facts of social life, the standard of living, the acreage under crop, the productivity of the soil, the climatic and topographical conditions ; then the distribution of food crops, application of machineries, division of labour, organisation of productive agencies and the use of capital, all these have to be studied to get a correct idea of the different cultural systems. Folklores, mythologies, tools and relics are invested with a meaning surpassing the dynastic lists and the pillars of victory. The history of Egypt is not to be read in the Pyramids but in the Mastabas strewn with sketches of the life of the poor. The Boghaz Koi tablets throw more light on the life of the Hittites than the stele of Naram Sin on the life of the Sumerians. The life of our fathers is written not in the sophisticated art of Ajanta but in the naive sketches of Sanchi and Bharhut. The Jatakas tell a story more real and extensive than the conventional panegyrics of Harisena and the genealogies of Kalhana.

The long journey traversed by the Westerners from the days of Herodotus to Marx and Buckle is unknown to our country. Our oldest fathers cultivated history as a separate branch of learning (itihasaveda) but it was history steeped in mythology and vitiated by idealistic motive. As a matter of fact the so-called chronicles known as *puranas* are the least dependable of all ancient historical records. Only in the last century we began our apprenticeship under the European masters. We claim that we have passed that stage while we have not produced a volume like Maine's or Baden Powell's on our land system, while we have still to refer to Burke and Mill to show the degenerating influence of British rule in India, while the shadow of Elphinstone and Hunter still spreads over our history within living memory. Our boys begin their lessons on India under British rule with Smith and Roberts. And this not because of a lack of research enterprise. A glance into the publications of our

Universities show how the library racks are being overwhelmed with fruitless labours on dates of kings, on military manoeuvres and on how one villain managed to displace another from a throne. The historian of the progressive school has got to shift the basis of his research, he has to select facts relevant to his study and assign due weights to them, he has to scrape the idealistic deposits out of his material coming from popular source and the realistic kernel out of the completely motivated material prepared by the elite. And he has also to devise ways and means of scientifically recording facts of his own day, voices of the people, in categorical and quantitative form freed from bias and pressure. Then and then only can he hope that the new-comers will not be building on sand. Given the validity of the factual material the laws of their operation will be nearer the observation of the scientific intellect, and the day can be looked forward to when Politics will emerge from History as an applied science given to human good.

PRE-WAR TRADITIONS AND POST-WAR FRENCH POETRY

RAM BILAS SHARMA, M.A., PH.D.
Lucknow University.

' Il semble qu'un grand rêve ait ses ailes cassées',—
—*Henri Mugnier.*

THERE are more literary movements in France in a decade than in England in a century, yet fundamentally, the French mind is more conservative than the English. The experiments are carried along certain lines which continue for long before they are replaced by others. Such fundamental changes are more frequent in England than in France. The great Revolution took place in France but apparently its immediate effect was greater on English than on French literature. In England, the romantic movement took shape earlier, while in France, it took long to fight out the dogma of classicism in poetry. In the twentieth century too, there has been a definite reaction against the romantic traditions of the last century in England, but in France, the symbolist or the individualistic tradition has been firmly rooted even in post-War French poetry. The reason for this conservatism of the French mind is to be found in the social conditions prevailing in France. The French poet has never lost his love of the countryside to the same extent as the English poet has. Industry has still left big patches of land where the poet can dream of the past. The more he finds himself in conflict with modern industry, the more he turns to the country-side and with his love for home and the land, he has never been an industrial nomad like his fellow-craftsman across the channel. Much of modern French poetry is an outcome of the clash between industrialism and semi-feudal conditions in the country. The latter have fostered the spirit of religion among the people. The clever poet who shocks the bourgeois reader often manages to be religious. As some one said, without faith you cannot blaspheme. Catholicism is as deeply rooted in the French mind as the love of the countryside. Both have helped to stabilise strong literary traditions which at times seem to fetter French genius in its evolution. The poet experimenting in the romantic tradition is no

longer a rebel ; that tradition has had a very long life and the romantic poet in France today is a conservative.

In the 19th century, the two most important movements in French poetry were those of the Parnassians and the Symbolists. These two movements owe their distinctness rather to differences of technique than to those of subject-matter. The Parnassians were classicists in form but the content of their poetry is often exotic. It is not without significance that the anthologies known as 'Le Parnasse contemporain' counted among the contributors Leconte de Lisle and Heredia on one hand and Mallarmé and Verlaine on the other. The art of evocation was not unknown to the Parnassians. If one were to write of a woman as

'un grand oiseau d'or qui guette au loin sa proie,'

would it be symbolism or sur-realism ? Cocteau had something similar in mind when he wrote :

'Sous un tigre royal, la rose aux chairs crispées
Meurt de peur.'

Much of the success of Heredia depends on evocation. A symbolist could take exception only to the word 'semble' in the following lines of Heredia about Cleopatra :—

'Cléopâtre, debout dans la splendeur du soir,
Semble un grand oiseau d'or qui guette au loin sa proie.'

The mysterious too is not absent from Parnassian poetry. There might be mystery even beneath the fierce sun of the Tropics. Heredia, again, wrote :

'Le soleil sous la mer, mystérieuse aurore,
Eclaire la forêt des coraux Abyssins' etc.

The melancholy and pessimism of Leconte de Lisle and Leon Dierx gives a lie direct to the myth of Parnassian objectivity. Dierx's line

'J'ai détourné mes yeux de l'homme et de la vie'

applies equally to the Parnassians and the symbolists. Symbolism had more to do with a reaction against the formal aspect of Parnassian poetry than its content. It is remarkable for the freedom it gave to the French poets in the technique of versification or rather in letting them dispense with verse altogether and develop vers libre.

The symbolist tradition was strong during the War itself. Many poets adopted a very strong individualistic attitude towards the war. They looked at it with contempt and though, they did not confess it, they in effect shut themselves in the tower of ivory. Joseph Rivière founded his review ' Soi-Même ' during the war. The title is descriptive of the attitude of these poets to social conditions. The Abbaye group had been formed before the war and it continued to exercise important influence on the younger poets even after the war. The poets of this group had no common manifesto to follow and as René Arcos says, they often made fun of each other, yet their general attitude to life is unmistakable. Love and humanitarianism are more like private virtues with these poets than items in the moral code of an organised society. The unanimists helped to foster the individualistic tradition in poetry of which symbolism was possibly the finest expression. Dadaism and Sur-Realism are the exaggerated forms of the same tendency. There have been reactions against this tendency before and after the war but these have often appeared to be as hysterical as the things which they were supposed to replace. Futurism, for instance, is marked more by insanity than balance. It is a reaction against the older decadent tradition but is itself feverish and febrile. It extols war and brute force but hysteria is not a social virtue ; it is like a sick man crying against his sickness and making himself even more sick than before. In France, there are men like Charles Maurras who have advocated the extreme form of totalitarian government in the country, not because they thought it to be good but because they had despaired of doing anything better and so justified extreme measures on the plea of expediency. Today, it is said, Maurras is one of the leaders conducting anti-British propoganda in France.

After the war, the mood of most poets was one of defeat or resignation. Poets in love with their melancholy and despair found a natural kinship in older poets like Musset. The feeling of ennui and a certain waste in life characterises the poetry of Philippe Soupault.

'Je ne sais quand viendra ma mort exactement
Mais je vieillis,'—

he says and that is typical of the temper of the poets at that time. Jouve is one of the unanimists but his nerves seem to have been wrecked by the war.

'Il n'y a pas de victoire,
Il n'y a que sombre défaite,'

and he has been so crushed by this defeat that he is afraid of any other effort at social reconstruction. That is why he asks,

'Et dites ! La révolution
Demanderait ses nouveaux morts ?'

Much of the despondence of the post-War period that seems to originate in a horror of war has really little to do with it ; it is simply the continuation of a temper that was there beforehand. The war became an excuse to many to indulge in morbid brooding. Jean Cocteau's nostalgia for home has little to do with war, yet as has been pointed out, he is very sensitive to the literary movements of his time and his verse therefore may be taken as an indication of the temper of French poets in general. This is what he wrote in one of the poems of 'Vocabulaire,'

'Souvenirs de campagne, ah ! laissez-moi tranquille,
De la rose du soir ne soyez pas le chancre ;
J'ai le vertige en haut des maisons de ma ville,
Mon ombre se répand de moi comme de l'encre.'

The lack of self-confidence and will to struggle is again expressed by Cocteau when he says about himself,

'je suis plus léger que le liège,
Plus léger que l'écume ' etc.

That reminds one of Cocteau's sketch of himself, weak lines and no mass.

There are others who have been continuing the older traditions in one way or the other. Jules Supervielle in his poems about South-America and Blaise Cendrars in his poems about Africa have continued the tradition of exoticism in French poetry. Some revolted against the older traditions but could not wholly free themselves from their influence ; they continued them in spite of their wish not to do so. This shows the extent of the influence of those traditions on the French mind. Carco rebelled against symbolism but his poetry is full of fantasies ; what is worse, he sometimes becomes perverse like Baudelaire. The following lines are directly in the tradition of the Satanic school :—

'C'est la pluie qui sanglote, cest
Le vent qui pleure, je t'assure.....
Je meurs d'une exquise blessure
Et tu ne sais pas ce que c'est.'

Max Jacob is one of the Cubists but his fantasy would rather connect him with the Symbolists than with the Cubists. He had been converted to Roman Catholicism in 1915. The most important of the Catholic poets is undoubtedly Paul Claudel. It does not seem to be accidental that he combines the function of a poet with that of a diplomat. His poems breathe the spirit of complacency and comfort of the French bourgeoisie that had benefited by the war. In plenty, one may thank God and that is why Claudel is equally indebted to Arthur Rimbaud and the Bible. There is something of the sensuousness of the English pre-Raphaelites in his worship of the Virgin. He goes to the church not to pray but only to gaze at the figure of Mary. 'Je ne viens pas prier,' he says ; he has come to

> 'Vous regarder, pleurer de bonheur, savoir cela
> Que je suis votre fils et que vous êtes là.'

He seems to be hypnotised by the beautiful picture and as he remembers that she has saved him and France, he leaves the shorter cadences with which he had begun the poem and commands a more sweeping rhythm. He concludes with

> 'Parce que vous êtes là pour toujours, simplement parce que vous êtes Marie, simplement parce que vous existez, Mère de Jésus-Christ, soyez remerciée ! '

This poem called 'La Vierge à midi' is included in his book 'Poèmes de Guerre' ; that is sufficient to indicate the relation between the war and this devotion. It is needless to add how useless this kind of attitude was for any drastic social reconstruction after the war. That such a drastic social reconstruction was necessary is now felt by all with the defeat of France in this war. The complacent religious attitude of the French poets had much to do with this defeat. Besides, Claudel was himself an important diplomat and there seems to have been an undesirable fusion of decadent French poetry with politics.

It is characteristic of the modern poet that he thinks too much of his craftsmanship. T. S. Eliot is an example ; he has exercised more influence on poets by what he has said about poetry than by his poetry itself. Edgar Allen Poe was one of the first to seriously think about a science of writing poetry. His influence in France is well known. Paul Valéry is the extreme example of this kind of poet who is much more attentive to how he writes than what he writes.

Valéry's poetical output is not much ; the obvious reason for this is that he thinks too much about poetry. Another reason, though less plausible yet perhaps nearer truth is that he has not much to say. The craft of writing verse has assumed such importance with him that the originality of thought and feeling has been destroyed. The post-War dilettante hankers after knowledge of all kinds ; there are so many special branches of knowledge that he does not know which to explore and which to leave for the benefit of his poetry. He lacks vision and therefore is lost in details. The social utility of his ideas is very small and to a certain extent, he wants to make up for this deficiency by trying to propound a science that would be useful to the craftsman. There is little that is new in the content of Valéry's poetry : it is remarkable for its fine expression. French poetry is full of day dreams and mid-day reveries but Valéry has written exceptionally well about these in 'Le Cimetière marin,'—

'Quand sur l'abime un soleil se repose,
Ouvrages purs d'une éternelle cause,
Le temps scintille et le songe est savoir.'

There is no difference between him and his predecessors in the fundamental attitude to life ; 'le songe est savoir,' and everybody had been saying that for more than half a century.

The last war would quickly be forgotten in the one that is being waged today and surely, the latter will have a more enduring influence on French letters than the former. Soon, critics would be speaking of another post-War French poetry. The romantic tradition has exhausted itself in France and the new changes in social life may be expected to clear the debris of the various individualistic schools of the past. The next movement will have more important social values attached to it and will be rooted in a healthier tradition. French poetry like the rest of French literature will not be the expression of the complacency, pessimism or morbidity of the post-War French middle classes ; it would be shaped by more aggressive forces who would fight to let in a little more sanity and balance in European life. One may hope that this would be the fate not only of French but of other literatures as well, European and Asiatic alike.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN LITERARY CRITICISM

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.,
Calcutta University

I

THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE ARTIST

As early as the seventeenth century Bacon recognised the fact that the social environment plays a prominent part in moulding literature. In the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, individual critics very often spoke of different literary outlooks prevalent in different ages. But these theories had not been fully formulated till the latter part of the nineteenth century. With the development of scientific thought there now grew up a definite tendency towards investigations into the sociological back-ground of human activities. It was felt that the social environment can mould and influence the poet's personality and, through his personality, his outlook on literature. The poet, like any other human being, cannot escape the influence of the atmosphere of ideas in the midst of which he lives. Contemporary thoughts and ideals leave their impress on his mind.

Underlying all diversities of thought there is, in every age, a certain unity in the cultural pattern which cannot but reveal itself through literature. The spirit of the age determines the character of its creative art and, as such, cannot be ignored in a proper evaluation of literature. Inspite, however, of this attitude towards the back-ground of thought and life the critics still regarded literature as a type of human activity which could be sharply differentiated from other activities. It had to be judged and appreciated as something *sui generis*.

With the progress of thought, the environment, it was discovered, was more intimately associated with human activities. The structure of society where man lives, the atmosphere in the midst of which he has to struggle for existence, mould his character, his watchful endeavours

and his dreams. It was urged that theories which explained satisfactorily the facts of history and the patterns of social behaviour cannot fail when applied to creative art. "Literature and the social forces which produce it, the writer and his public, the attitude of different strata of society to different kinds of writing"—these and similar problems could not be ignored any longer.

Literature was, thus, brought nearer to the so-called "practical issues" of life. The older idea of poetry moulding the character of men by inculcating moral principles or by the representation of ideal types of humanity could, no longer, be accepted at its face value. The new psychology of the day which seeks to transform society by guiding and controlling human behaviour found in literature a potent instrument for the realisation of its ideals. The hidden springs of human behaviour have to be guided in order that man might be moulded into a social being contributing to the progress of the community. But such guidance is absolutely impossible without a proper knowledge of the human mind ; and literature can give us this necessary insight into character. "The reading and understanding of poetry and imaginative writing generally give us an insight into the mind of man—his impulses and passions, his dreams and longings—without which we can have no real knowledge of the motives which impel him to act, the ideals for which he can be induced to strive or any of the numberless half-consciously realised forces that are so important in determining his moods and attitudes."

Social practice has, in modern thought, established itself not only as a necessary condition for the development of the human personality but also as the criterion of truth. Man can reach truth only when he "engages in activity in relation to the external world." For "the objective world is, through practice, reflected in knowledge and ceases to be a strange world separate from human knowledge." From this point of view, also, literature is of great service in the "practical concerns" of life ; for, one of the fundamental conditions of social action according to the sociological school of thought is the identification of ourselves with our fellow-men and the appreciation of literature, as of art, produces this sense of one-ness.

The economic activities of life are, at present, absorbing the attention of men. But even when our physical wants are satisfied our personality is not fully developed. We remain "masses of unfulfilled potentialities" ; and, as such, fail to make the fullest contribution to the

welfare of the community. It is necessary that these mental potentialities of ours be realised. The attainment of a full and happy life, the building up of a rounded personality—these are as much "practical purposes" as anything else; and the appreciation of literature, contributing as it does to the development of the aesthetic faculty in man, must be regarded as a very important practical matter. In fact, literature is a part of the life of the people—"at once a comment on, and an epitome of, all that is of value in life." The literary artist, no less than any other worker, changes his environment. He might imbibe ideas from his environment, reflect his age and interpret its life; but he is not a true artist if his interpretation is not original and new. Such artistic interpretations of life are not without their influence on the thought-world of the age. They mould the dreams and visions of contemporaries. New movements of thought, later on translated into action, are thus generated and the social environment is changed thereby.

Literature again is a social activity which, like all other human activities, has its function to perform in society. Human life appears as a chaos to the ordinary man. He is helpless before the great mass of unorganised experience. The facts of his experience must be integrated and understood. Great literature presents the different aspects of human experience in such a way as to produce a pattern out of this apparent disorder. It gives us a "concentrated essence of physical and psychological facts" "true to type and true to our sense of probability." It organises experience for the common man—and its permanent appeal depends upon the significance of the experience it organises and integrates.

The personality of the artist himself is, to a great extent, influenced by his environment. "The state of society can sometimes compel the literary artist to be false to his mission" or "sometimes it can give to his work a universality and cogency that springs from contact with the most elemental facts of life." It is this interaction between the artist and his environment which is of importance in the study of literature. The sociological outlook as represented by some modern critics does not lay so much stress upon the influence of the artist on the environment as on that of the environment on the artist Such a study can, it is urged, enable us to form an adequate idea of the true function of literature. We see it "as one human activity among many activities" and can thus formulate

standards of value by which it can be properly judged and truly appreciated.

The universal aspect of literature is not ignored by sociological criticism. Literary artists and poets, in order that they might attain perfection in their art, must express "certain universal ever-present aspects of human experience,"—aspects which remain "constant throughout history" and thus transcend all differences of time and place. It is asserted, however, with no less emphasis that problems concerning the conditions—social, economic and cultural—which often influence the mind of artists and determine the objects which they have in view in their artistic creations, are of equal importance. Nobody can deny that such social and other conditions and, as a consequence, the professed objects of writers differ in different ages. "The fashioning of a gentleman" which Spenser had in view is entirely different from Milton's "justifying the ways of God to man." The object with which Pope wrote the *Essay on Man* can similarly be contrasted with Shelley's in his *Prometheus Unbound*. These differences are not without significance and they can be explained only with reference to their environment. The critic must "discover the different causes which, at different times, impelled men to produce works having literary value, the extent to which these causes determined the nature of the product, and the general relation of literature to the conditions of the age in which the writers lived."

According to critics of this school it is from this standpoint that the literary history of a particular nation should be interpreted. Thus the English romances of the Middle Ages with their "complete unreality together with touches of homely realism, simplicity, even crudity combined with an attempt to capture the atmosphere of 'high life,' and rudimentary versification touched, here and there, with real beauty" are sought to be interpreted by reference to the fact that they were meant to entertain a leisured class who wanted to escape from the realities of existence and live, at least imaginatively, in an unreal world of adventure and romantic love. The gradual sophistication of romances is, again, explained as due to the acceptance of English by the higher classes of nobles. The development of folk-poetry into art-poetry has, similarly, to be understood by reference to changing social conditions. What was "an improvisation to the rhythm of work" becomes, in course of time, with the development of division of labour, "a deliberate product of

conscious art." The ideals of marriage prevalent in the Middle Ages, the discouragement by religion of romantic passion, the "conventional attitude of the high-placed feudal servant to his lord's wife"—they are all pressed into service to account for the sophistication of courtly love in Mediaeval romances and lyrics. The allegory of love was similarly produced for a leisured audience "cut off from the realities of life of the peasant and the worker." It was a literature of "the introvert whose life was mostly empty of active labour and who, therefore, had time and inclination to introspect and refine his own emotions." The introspective indulgence in Sterne and Richardson, "implied a deliberate lack of contact with reality, a refusal to seek emotional satisfaction in normal relations with people and things, a literary auto-eroticism, fundamentally unnatural and unhealthy." It could not be regarded as normal and was the outcome of the economic individualism prevalent in that age, an individualism which regarded poverty as normal, restricted the range of human sympathies and turned "the lachrymose emotions inwards." It was, again, the social background which differentiated Fielding from Richardson. "His connection with the landed gentry encouraged a breadth of outlook and a generosity of feeling, of which the petty tradesman or prosperous merchant with his prudential morality and restricted interest was incapable." His was "the protest of pre-bourgeois humanism" against the "commercialising of virtue and ultra-individualistic philosophy."

The main problems which a critic has to consider in his evaluation of literature is one of "selection, organisation and presentation"—the significance of the facts the writer expresses, the way in which he integrates them and the language in which his integrations are communicated to his fellow-men.

There is always a selective process in art. An artist is not a mere recorder of the "stream of consciousness," even if such a stream really exists. If he tries to give a photographic representation of life in its chaotic multiplicity, he is bound to fail. Such representation does not integrate, it merely makes confusion worse confounded. To describe indiscriminately all the insignificant details of a man's life does not give a real picture of his personality. It misrepresents him as much as the other extreme of describing only his soulful moods of rapture and reverie. The artist has to select such aspects alone as are necessary for the presentation of life as human experience recognises

it to be. The details must be such as to make his interpretation significant. He must leave upon the minds of his readers the impression that he has been able to evaluate and apprehend life more profoundly and more truthfully than it is possible for ordinary men. "The representation, by an imaginative writer, of the significant aspects of life must arouse in the reader both recognition and deepened apprehension."

The aspects of life so selected must now be organised. Artistic unity is not the result of a mechanical welding together of different elements. It is more organic and grows from within. The elements are fused together "in such a way as to give a sense of truth and completeness." We experience the intergrated whole of a poem or any other specimen of literature and feel convinced that such is life.

The experience so organised must be adequately expressed. The language must fit the matter and the artists' interpretation must be communicated in the most forceful manner. Preciosity of style is a sign of decadence ; the thin emasculated style argues lack of adequate contact with real life. Both should be avoided.

" If human experience is valuable as such, if what men have thought, felt and done and continue to think, feel and do is to be important, then literature which is concerned solely and entirely with human experience is valuable." Mere didacticism is not art, and the best type of literature steers clear of it. Escape from the realities of life to a world of imagination might form the basis of some type of literature but it is not the characteristic feature of great literature. " The true individualist sees the individual in relation to other individuals and aims at a sanity and balance in his treatment of human life. This is not possible for a person who isolates his own experience from the environment conditioning it." In literature, as in society, a man fulfils his own personality more by mingling with and considering his fellows than by retiring alone to the " ivory tower." The individual leading a life absolutely isolated from his social environment might be an interesting specimen for psychological analysis but not the proper subject of literature. Great literature centres round the socialised man. " The implications of such a being for human feeling and action " are revealed by the artist. This the literary artist can do only by becoming a " socialised individual " himself.

The critic has, therefore, to take a comprehensive view of the relation between literature and society. Apart from the question of the social and economic environment influencing the artist and moulding the form of literature prevalent in a particular period, there is the more fundamental problem of the socio-economic organisation determining the character of culture. Literature has for its ultimate basis significant human experience ; and any distortion of human values cannot but influence its character. If there be certain types of social and economic organisation which standardise human experience and render it superficial, literature is debased ; and " the literary critic has a right to protest if he finds himself in the midst of a system whose contradictions are resulting in increasing dislocation and anomaly, where reality is obscured by a fog of catchwords and moral platitudes, and the experience of different classes is so diverse in every way that the artist has to decide which kind of life is 'truer' and is prevented from seeing life whole." Even such destructive criticism of the existing social environment involves a standard, a norm, by which society has to be judged—an ideal which must be formulated and distinctly expressed. The common men must form an adequate conception of the conditions under which literature can fulfil its function. If the object of the critic be to change the social environment into one congenial to the appreciation of great art, it can be achieved only when he visualises before his contemporaries the ideal structure of society. The ideal has to be formulated before it can be realised. To rouse the aesthetic consciousness of man, to instil into him a yearning desire for true culture, and impel him to strive for the realisation of an environment conducive to the appreciation of art—these the critic has to ensure if he wants to fulfil his function as a 'socialised individual.'

The sociological outlook in literary criticism seems, at first sight, to represent a newer and truer view of creative art. But deeper analysis reveals that, if developed logically, it inevitably leads to a distortion of critical standards. Literature comes to be valued not for its intrinsic merit as a work of art but for the light it throws on the social and economic conditions of a particular period. Critics, guided by this conception of socialised literature, are more attracted towards lesser artists who express the socio-economic ideals of the age than to those who transmute them in the light of their imagination.

Langland becomes more significant than Chaucer, Ben Jonson than Shakespeare.[1]

The fundamental characteristics of great literature—its transcending of specific facts and its revelation of the universal aspects of human nature, its imaginative interpretation of reality and its expressing the universal in and through the particular—can sociological criticism evaluate these? It can answer many questions ; it can explain the tradition in which a great writer works, his choice of types, the significance of his ideology—social, economic and spiritual. But tradition and ideology do not explain art. The display, in one's writings, of one's knowledge of socio-economic forces, however accurate it might be, is not necessarily art, and a writer may be a great artist without describing, directly or even indirectly, his social, economic or cultural environment. " Literary genius does not necessarily mean social sensitiveness." The sociological outlook has to recognise its own limitations. It has to admit that studies in the socio-economic background of literature cannot reveal the secrets of art. They give us almost everything except the literary qualities of a great artist; and critics have to confess that Chaucer and Shakespeare elude their grasp.

When, again, literature is valued for giving its readers an insight into " the motives which impell man to action " and " the numberless half-consciously realised forces which determine his moods and attitudes," we seem to move in an atmosphere of " socialised action " rather than of aesthetic appreciation. When art is appreciated not for its aesthetic appeal but for producing that sense is of one-ness with our contemporaries so conducive to " socialised action," we feel that the sociologist has triumphed over the critic. Literature, undoubtedly, bears a very close relationship to socialised activities ; it may be utilised as a potent instrument for training up leaders ; it may also contribute towards the full development of man as an active member of the community ; it may further make him realise " his unfulfilled potentialities" : yet these characteristics do not give us the whole truth about art. There is a *tertium quid* which eludes the grasp of the sociologist.

Sociological criticism is not justified in claiming that literature can reveal the secrets of the human personality. The world of art

[2] Daiches, *Literature and Society* ; L. C. Knight, *Society and Drama in the Age of Jonson.*

is entirely different from the world of reality. The artist objectifies his emotions and ideals and they grow into men and women. It is indeed true that, being the creations of an artist who has observed keenly, analysed accurately and thought deeply, these characters may appear vivid and life-like. But their reality is the reality of verisimilitude rather than that of truth. Their life is the life within the world not of reality but of art. They are true because they are convincing. To identify these creations of human imagination with real men and women betrays an ignorance of the fundamental principles of art. They can give us an insight into the motives of one individual alone, *viz.*, their creator. "The impulses and passions," "the dreams and longings" or "the numberless half-consciously realised forces" they reveal, represent the author's interpretation of life rather than life itself. It is a "mock-world" which the artist creates and however much the creatures of this 'mock-world' may resemble men and women, they are quite out-of-place in the world of reality. Anyone who seeks to apply the knowledge derived from a study of their character to real human beings does so at his peril.

The personality of the artist is the fundamental basis of artistic creation ; yet this fundamental basis is very often neglected by the sociological critic unless it is forced upon him. He cannot ignore outstanding figures like Chaucer and Shakespeare but, in his interpretation of literature, society and its classes loom larger than the writer. However greatly influenced the artist might be by his environment, he is not the mere mouthpiece of his age. He is great because he is original. He is remembered only when he represents some hitherto unapprehended aspects of human experience. The pattern of values he communicates is different from the usual patterns of his age. Literature is significant because it is a personal interpretation of reality. Sociological criticism often loses sight of this fundamental fact and represents literature as the mere expression of the ideals of a particular class or of a particular age. When, for instance, the "introspective indulgence" of Richardson or Sterne is sought to be explained by reference to the "economic individualism of his age," we feel that the critic in his enthusiasm for introducing sociological ideals and principles into the realm of literary criticism has forgotten the artist himself in the evaluation of his art.

Sociological criticism often talks glibly about *bourgeois* ideals and *capitalistic* culture with reference to the earlier ages of literary history. But can the society of these earlier times be divided up into such self-conscious classes with rigid outlooks of their own ? On the contrary researches into the structure of society prevalent in those days reveal a homogenity, greater or lesser which precludes the development of distinctive class-cultures. Apart from the Middle ages when culture was confined to a microscopic minority, the Elizabethan period, witnessing as it did the disintegration of the older mediaeval culture and the emergence of a newer type of society, was too transitional in character to have developed any well-defined class. The lord and the peasant went to the same theatre and imbibed their cultural ideas from the same source. A similar homogeneity is discernible upto the eighteenth century. Insistance, therefore, on class-culture with reference to these ages evinces an unjustifiable eagerness to read into their culture-pattern, ideas and ideals belonging to a later period.

In its interpretation of literature sociological criticism lays too great an emphasis on the influence of the reading public on the development of literature. It might have been very strong in the case of the early Troubadours or the ballad singers of the Mediaeval age ; but the fact remains that many a poet and thinker guided and even moulded the public taste instead of being themselves influenced thereby. Milton and Bunyan moulded the Puritanic culture of the seventeenth century ; Dryden, Pope, and others, the urban culture of the eighteenth. The Romantic poets of the early nineteenth century enunciated the principle that a great and original poet must create the taste proper for the appreciation of his poetry. The poems of Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, and Keats grew in superb indifference to the taste or distaste of the reading public and the poets themselves revolted against the popular criticism of that transition period. It is only in this modern age of mechanisation and capitalistic methods that creators of the " best-seller " type of literature adjust themselves to the taste of their readers. Whatever be the reasons for such adjustment it does not create great literature ; and although one might very well deplore the mechanisation of culture which has been responsible for this debasement of art, the fact remains that even now, there are poets and other creative writers who refuse to be coerced by the popular taste.

The sociological interpretation of the art-process has also something mechanical about it. The poet, according to this theory, selects certain aspects of human experince, integrates them into one artistic unity and expresses this integrated whole in the most convincing manner. Is artistic creation the conscious process it is represented to be ? Are not the elements of experience seen as an integrated unity in one act of insight ? There is in artistic creation an intuitive element which cannot be ignored The poet does not think out his experience, it flashes on his inward eye. The "selection" and "integration" of experience fuse into one mental act wholly intuitive while the expression, especially in the case of great literature, is very often so closely related to the intuition as to become indistinguishable from it. The division of this complex art-process into its constituent elements is the work of the analytical intellect of man. It is useful as giving the critic an opportunity to analyse the different aspects of artistic creation ; but it is, nevertheless, a mental construct having no basis on reality.

The concept of the "socialised man" influences the sociological outlook in criticism to a very great extent. "In literature as in society, a man fulfils his own personality more by mingling with and considering his fellows than by retiring alone to the ivory tower." 'Escapism' and 'escapist literature' cannot be great. The escapist in art refuses to perform the primary function of art, *viz.*, its moulding of socialised activities. If, however, the object of criticism be to study literature in close relationship to the social and economic environment, the so-called 'escapist' cannot be brushed aside so lightly. He is as much the product of the socio-economic conditions of his age as any other human being. He is an interesting specimen not only for "psychological analysis" but for "sociological research" as well. It is as much important to investigate how far society has been responsible for his retiring to "the ivory tower" as to trace the positive influence of environment on the "socialised" artist. The world that the escapist creates might be a world of wish-fulfilment but it is nonetheless the product of the artists' reaction to social forces and social conditions and, as such, of significance even to the critic with a sociological bias. Very often the phrase "ivory tower" merely expresses the distaste of the critic for the world created by the artist. The poet's interpretation of reality, the world of beauty he creates are adversely criticised and labelled as 'escapist' simply

because they do not answer the expectations of the critic. Personal prejudices are thus allowed to colour aesthetic judgments. The social environment may not be directly given in a work of art ; but deeper critical insight will certainly discover the existing atmosphere of ideas and ideals clinging like an aroma to the creations of the poet. Shelley is very often represented as an escapist, but to consider his "Prometheus Unbound," or "Ode to the West Wind" as specimens of the artistic creation of the poet in splendid isolation from reality is to ignore the fact that it was the realities of life which went to their "making." In them were fused into one artistic unity the mental reactions of a poet who had the intellectual alertness to come into intimate contact with contemporary movements of thought and action. The poet sought to give a new interpretation to forces which, he thought, were working in society and he tried to express in his poetry a new vision of human redemption and a new conception of ideal human society. The defects of this vision and this conception are entirely due to the thought-currents prevalent in his age and not to the self-isolation of the poet ; and they might very well offer to sociologists in literary criticism ample materials for research. What is criticised as "escapism" in literature very often appears, on deeper analysis, to be nothing but the poetic interpretation of human experience—the fusion by the poet's imagination of the diverse elements in human experience into one artistic unity integrated, consciously or unconsciously, by reference to some standard of aesthetic judgment formed in the background of his mind. Literary criticism has to evaluate it from the aesthetic as differentiated from the sociological point of view.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G. M. JADHAV

IV

ADDISCOMBE cadets have been greatly instrumental in the success of the British arms during the last three-quarters of a century, as well as in settling and improving the British territories after their acquisition.

"The plan of the establishment at Addiscombe was first drawn up by Mr. William Abington, of the East India House, and it was authorised by resolution of the Court, dated 7th April, 1809. It was framed in accordance with the 44th Clause of Act 53 Geo. III., Cap. 155, and was originally confined to the education of cadets for the Engineers and Artillery ; but seven years later, the Seminary was opened for the education of Infantry Cadets as well. Cadets were first placed in the Seminary from 21st January, 1809, Dr. James Andrew being Head Master and Superintendent ; but the mansion and its 58 acres of land were not handed over till January, 1810, so that the place was occupied a year before it was formally handed over."

I quote these lines from "Addiscombe—Its Heroes and Men of Note," by Colonel H. M. Vibart (Archibald Constable and Co., London, 1894). I read this book in 1910. I was a school-boy at the Manchester Grammar School. I was only 14 years old. But I wondered why some Indian princes and merchants had not thought of opening a Military School or College for training Indian boys in 1809 or better still in 1709. It is easy to be wise after the event. We know there was no national unity and solidarity in India. Each prince was fighting for his own selfish ends. But even then some of the more powerful princes could have easily started Military Schools and Naval Schools for training Indian military and naval officers. We know what would have been the history of India if some far-sighted princes had united and thought out a national policy for the defence of India.

"The history of a school which has produced in the short time it was in existence such a number of really great men—men distinguished by the share they had 'in the conquest and consolidation of

the Indian Empire'—require no words of mine to commend it to the general public ; while for an old Addiscombe cadet like myself, this record of an institution to which we owe so much cannot fail to have a peculiar interest. We must always feel proud of having belonged to a school which has sent forth such men as Henry Lawrence, Eldred Pottinger, Arthur Cotton, Proby Cautley, Robert Napier, Henry Durand, John Jacob, Baird Smith, Harry Tombs, Henry Yule, and many others—not only soldiers, but administrators—who throughout their glorious careers did their duty with that singleness of heart and honesty of purpose for which the Anglo-Indian official is so justly conspicuous, and which have gained for English men the respect and confidence of the people of India."

Thus wrote Lord Roberts in his Introduction to the book I have mentioned above. The British have every reason to be proud of the achievement of their great men in India. In 1910 it was always a wonder to me why Indians could not have realised the danger to India from all foreigners. At the age of 14 one is not a great philosopher. Even today in 1941 I do not pretend to be a philosopher. I love history, literature, science, music, painting, military science, naval science, air force science, etc., and I like to take a detached view of everything and think in an impartial and scientific manner. I had this frame of mind even in 1910. As years have passed that tendency has developed more and more. In 1910 in an essay I wrote: " an empire is a peculiar development in human affairs ; an empire is, after all, a mere passing show." To this conclusion I had come because I have read about the decline and fall of so many empires. There is nothing very startling in my conclusion.

" Life in India, where almost every European, whether civilian or soldier, is often placed at an early age in positions of great responsibility in which his powers of self-reliance, calm judgment, and prompt action have continually to be exercised, has, no doubt, much to say to the remarkable ability displayed by our countrymen in dealing with great and sudden emergencies, and to their unhesitating and determined action in times of difficulty and danger. I think, however, that as ' the child is father of the man,' a great deal was due to Addiscombe. It was a rough and ready sort of school, but the strict discipline and continuous work and study enforced there were good training."

This is what Lord Roberts wrote about Addiscombe in his Introduction to the book I have mentioned above. What would have happened

if Indians had been fortunate enough to establish good Military and Naval Schools in India even in 1750 ? This is merely speculation in time and space. I used to ask myself this question when I was at school and later on at college. Why did not Indians realise that Military Schools and Naval Schools were absolutely necessary for the defence of India ? The East India Company had sent their ships and soldiers and sailors to India. Did it never occur to thoughtful Indians to copy the methods of the foreigners and create a powerful army and navy in India under the command of Indian officers ? We come to the year 1800 ; what had Indians learnt about the ways of the British, the French and other foreigners in India ? With proper training Indians could have possessed all the qualities mentioned by Lord Roberts. Let me have the charge of Indian defence for twenty years. I shall give India a first class national army and air force. In twenty years' time a first class national navy for India can be organised. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen under the command of Indian officers...such were my thoughts in 1910 when I read Addiscombe and its Heroes. India has produced many famous soldiers and sailors, India has today and had in the past many boys who could have been trained to become first class civil, military, naval and air force officers. Indians have never been given a fair chance. Let them have the chance to organise the defence of India. We can easily show the world what we can accomplish in spite of so many difficulties in the way.

" When thinking over the careers of the distinguished men who were educated at Addiscombe, one feels inclined to wonder whether the greater refinement—indeed luxuries—to be found in some schools of the present day is as beneficial to boys as the less softening influences of Addiscombe, and whether it is likely to be attended by the same excellent results. Be that as it may, there is no question of what Addiscombe did. Twice every year between forty and fifty young fellows, well educated, highly principled, and with a knowledge of what hard work meant, left the Honorable East India Company's Military Seminary, prepared to uphold the honour of their country, and to fight for their interests in a land where, as has been truly said, ' Everything—public safety, national honour, personal reputation,—rests on the force of individual character' "

This is another quotation from Lord Roberts' Introduction. " Would it not have been possible for Indians to find similar young

boys in India and train them in the same way as the cadets at Addiscombe? Why did not Indians realise the importance of a Military Seminar like the one at Addiscombe? or the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, or the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich?"

I have here a copy of a book called, "A Tour through the Naval and Military Establishments of Great Britain in the Years 1816-17-18 and 1820," by Charles Dupin, translated from the French, printed for Sir Richard Philips & Co., London, 1822. In the Introduction the author says:—

"In the following work, I have endeavoured to exhibit the full extent of the Military and Naval Forces which the Government of Great Britain can bring into the field, or launch upon the ocean. I have likewise described the connection of these forces with the government of the country, and also the discipline usually exercised in order to produce a hardihood in battle, invulnerable to fear and unassailable by cowardice. My observation on these subjects were derived from a residence of five years in England; during which time I was constantly employed in visiting and viewing every object and institution worthy of notice relative to British Army and Navy."

Mon. Dupin's treatise of 116 pages contains very useful information. But here I shall quote only what he says about the Royal Military College, Sandhurst and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

"Royal Military College. In 1799, the necessity of forming regimental officers, and more especially those of the staff, with a perfect knowledge of the theory of the art of war, caused the foundation of the institution known under the title of the Royal Military College. It is under the immediate command of a governor and lieutenant-governor. All the Military officers of the establishment are appointed by royal commission, and subject to the articles of war, and regulations of the army."

After this follows a description of Sandhurst, the course of studies, dress of the cadets, etc.

"Royal Academy for the Artillery and Engineers. The Academy at Woolwich, like the Military College, is divided into two schools—the first appropriated to pupils of the youngest age; the second to those more advanced. The latter is, properly speaking, the only part of the Institution which can be considered as a special professional school.

"The pupils of the academy are chosen among the sons of the nobility, gentry and corps of officers of the service; and are received between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. They are, at first, admitted into the under-school, and, at the end of a year, are examined in the first elements of mathematics. For each cadet, and during the whole time of his residence at the academy, the government pays half-a-crown per day. This sum is sufficient for the entire support of the pupil, on whose account his parents are at no expense whatever, except what is paid on entering the institution,—fourteen guineas into the chest of the academy."

Why did not Indian princes and merchants establish similar Military Colleges and Military Academies in India? India has paid and will continue to pay a heavy price for this neglect of national defence.

I have here a copy of a book called "The Shop," by Captain F. G. Guggisberg (Castle & Company, Ltd., 1900). In this book a detailed account of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, is given. Everything that was done for the cadets at Woolwich could have been done for Indian cadets at a similar institute in India. The date of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, is given as 30th April, 1741. Here is the warrant:

"George R.,

"Whereas you, our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, John Duke of Montague, Master General of our Ordnance, hath laid before us a representation . . . that it would conduce to the good of our service if an Academy or School was *instituted*, endowed, and supported, for instructing the raw and inexperienced people belonging to the Military branch of this office, in the several parts of Mathematics necessary to qualify them for the service of the Artillery, and the business of Engineers; and that there is convenient room at Woolwich Warren, which is our property, and may be fitted up for that purpose; we having taken the subject into our Royal consideration, and approving thereof, our will and pleasure is that we do hereby authorise, empower, and direct you to nominate, constitute and appoint an able and skilful Master and Assistants, and to prescribe such Rules, Orders, and Regulations, from time to time, as you shall think fit and expedient for the instruction and improvement of the people, and for the good government of the said Academy or School; etc., etc."

In 1741 would it not have been possible for some Indian prince or princes to establish an Academy for training young Indian officers ? How different the history of India would have been if Indians had seen the value of national defence and national unity not only in 1741 but better still in 1700 and had established schools for training military and naval officers. And what do we see even today in 1941 ? Every day in the papers we read that Britain is fighting for democracy. And what about democracy for the 400,000,000 people of India ? Under British rule Indians have not been trained to defend India. In the army only a few post are given to Indians. There is no Indian General Staff. In the navy we have no Indian admirals, etc. Why talk about admirals when there are no Indian naval captains and lieutenants. Why should this be the condition in India when Japan has a first class navy under the command of Japanese officers ? Think of Japan in 1870 and India now in 1941. Comment is unnecessary.

Psychology and Leadership

In one of my articles I wrote that for the defence of India there should be 5,50,000 Indian soldiers, 2,00,000 Indian sailors and 2,00,000 Indian airmen under the command of Indian officers. The men and officers should be selected from different parts of India in the following proportion :

10 per cent. each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and the Punjab ;—

5 per cent. from Assam, Orissa, C. P. and Berar, Sind and N. W. F. P.;

15 per cent. from the Indian states.

In this way the whole of India will be responsible for the defence of India. We have before us a big problem with all its possibilities and difficulties in the way. Indians will have to think about this problem and solve it. We are trying to create a national army, navy and air force under the command of Indian officers. At present we have no political power. Then why think about a national army, navy and air force? Why are Indians talking so much about Swaraj since so many years? Swaraj is an ideal which Indians wish to make into a realised fact. How can we talk about Swaraj and a Constitution for India unless we have a clear idea about the defence of India?

We must have a plan, a theory to begin with. This plan must be discussed by all who are interested in the defence of India by Indians and the government of India by Indians.

When we think about a national army, navy and air force in India, we have before us the important question of Psychology and Leadership. The men and officers in the national defence forces are human beings and not mere machines. This is an important fact. I shall quote a few lines from a very interesting pamphlet, "Psychology and Leadership," by Captian John H. Burns, U. S Infantry. On the cover page of the pamphlet we read: "Owing to the excellence of this paper it is, with the permission of the author, issued for the information of all concerned."

This pamphlet of 54 pages will interest Indians. It is published by the Command and General Staff School Press, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U. S. A. I quote the following from page 42 of the pamphlet:

"To the popular, and map room, conception of a general, which sees him moving bodies of men about the map in the manner of a chess player, we may add a complimentary picture—that of the general as a wary doctor with his finger on the fluttering pulse of a patient, waiting for the proper moment to give him a hypodermic of digitalis. The patient is the army and the general must be ever ready to keep it from dying on his hands, by an injection of leadership.

"Military history is filled with the geometrical interpretations of battle. The study of the formations is excellent. But who is formed into the line of battle? Who moves in accordance with the plan? Men! They execute the plan and we very carefully avoid their place in the scheme. We seek desperately to find some material factor to which we can ascribe the victory; whereas it is some mental factor which had all to do with it. The Prussians of Frederick the Great were supposed to have secured their victories by the rapidity of fire, gained by the long and rigorous training of the soldiers in loading their muskets. So says the material interpreter of battles. But Marshal Saxe noted that in the last five battles there were more Prussians killed by rifle fire than their adversaries. That would discount the material explanation. The answer was a morale one. The soldier mechanically going through the movements of loading had little time to think of danger and consequently could resist panic longer. That shrewd soldier, Marshal Saxe, drew this conclusion which seems correct. This material conception of battles has thrown

our whole conception of tactics out of perspective; but worse yet, it has given us an erroneous picture of a leader; we pore over maps to ascertain by what strange geometrical combination great generals secured their victories; whereas it is more likely that the victories lie in the realm of leadership. Leadership—that power of executing plans through and with men—is what makes great battle leaders and great generals. How one can escape this conclusion with the modern doctrine that enemy army is the objective of all manœuvre, it is impossible to see. For, the destruction of the enemy means battle, and battles mean the utilisation of men."

We have in India many examples of military leaders who have been able to conquer kingdoms and establish empires. But all these military leaders had selfish motives. Now we have to think of training military, naval and air force leaders who will work for the Indian Nation. With proper training it is quite possible to have good Indian military, naval and air force officers and leaders. It is the duty of Indians to work out a detailed scheme by which the right kind of leaders will be trained to look after the defence of India as a whole.

It was as long ago as 1920 that I wrote: for the defence of India we must remember Egypt and Suez on one side and Singapore on the other. It did not require a prophet to come and tell me this very simple fact. One has only to look at the map of the world and have some commonsense to realise what must be the real defence of India. The real cause of war is economic, trade, commerce, industries, markets, sources of supply, wealth, greed and lust. To greed and lust there can be no frontiers and no limits. And yet, if the nations desire peace they will have to chalk out a plan by which greed and lust will be eliminated. But since human nature is what it is, it will be very difficult to get rid of greed and lust. There is still hope for humanity.

The Psychological Nature of Man

"Man is a thinking animal, but that he is also a creature of instincts and his conduct is based on the driving power of these instincts. He can respond in several ways to an instinctive prompting and thus the instinctive nature of his acts is not always clear. Instinct as used in this study may be defined as 'certain innate, specific tendencies common to all members of any one species.'" (Psychology and Leadership, p. 5.)

Look at our plan. We wish to train 5,50,000 Indian soldiers 2,00,000 Indian sailors, and 2,00,000 Indian airmen from the different parts of India and bring them under the control of Indian officers. This is a big and ambitious plan.

Was it not a good fortune for Britain that the American colonists were able to establish the U. S. A. ? Had they remained under British rule there would have been muddle and confusion and in the 1914-18 war and again in the present war there would have been no U.S.A. to help Britain. We have read about the famous Eight Points of Roosevelt and Churchill. India will gain nothing until and unless Indians themselves wake up and do something for India.

Psychology of Nations

In September, 1939, we heard about the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact. Many persons must have smiled. We know what the Germans had written against the U.S.S.R. and *vice versa*. The hatred and enmity between Germany and Russia...their way of thinking, government, etc., so different...and yet a Pact. Very good, very interesting. Then came June, 1941. Many things had changed and so war was declared and Germany and Russia are now enemies and Britain and Russia are friends. Here is a problem in psychology. Anything and everything that could be said against Russia was said by the British ruling classes. The Russians returned the compliments. But necessity knows no law and today we see the lion and the bear are friends. The Russian and British troops and Indian troops under British officers have entered Iran. What next ?

An Appeal to Indian Universities

The present war must have made it clear to the Indian Universities that it is about time they change their courses and make them more suitable for modern times. The Universities should encourage the study of national defence. Our students must be made to realise the fact that there is such a thing as national defence and that it is the duty of every Indian to do his or her share of the work.

An Appeal to Indian Merchants

In 1809 the East India Company established a Military School at Addiscombe. Cannot Indian merchants also do something for

military, naval and air force education in India ? Our merchants can give money for establishing Military Education Institutes, Naval Institutes, Air Force Education Institutes. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta should have such Institutes. It is very necessary to do something at once.

United States Naval Academy

From the Navy Department, Washington, I received a catalogue of courses of instruction at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis. I received ten copies of the catalogue for which I wish to thank the Navy Department. Those who are interested in naval science and education should write to the Navy Department for copies of the catalogue I have mentioned above. We can see what is done for the midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy. For the details of the course Indians must see the catalogue of the Naval Academy. Here I shall quote only a few lines about the Library of the Naval Academy:

"The library is housed in large, attractive reading and stack rooms in Mahan Hall. The holdings comprise roughly 90,000 volumes, increasing at the rate of 2,000 volumes a year, and forming one of the world's foremost naval libraries. The collection of naval histories and of naval biographies, of works on the development of various types of ships, of seamanship, navigation, ordnance, and gunnery, is especially strong. It is well developed in history, biography, international law and relations, travel and reference works, with other subjects in less degree. In addition, and within the limit of funds available for the purpose, a collection of the best current fiction is maintained for recreational reading. The books and periodicals are arranged on open shelves which provide convenient access for all.

" Bulletin boards in the library and in Boncroft Hall announce the new books. Further to show what the library has to offer and to promote its use and service, a mimeographed bulletin is issued usually twice a week, containing the titles of 15 to 20 of the latest books acquired, and giving beneath each title a brief annotation describing its outstanding features. Often these bulletins are made up in part of the titles of articles contained in the publications of naval, military, or engineering societies; and at other times of those of naval interest appearing in the general periodicals. The bulletin is sent to all officers and professors and is made available to midshipmen.

" Use of the library has been growing steadily in the number of books circulated and in reference and research work. All midshipmen are required during their first summer to spend there 1½ hours a week under the direction of the department of English, History, and government, for instruction in the use of the various periodical indexes, reference books, and other library tools. The purpose is to acquaint midshipmen with the location of the books, to teach the use of the catalogue, and the best ways to look up topics on which information is sought.

" Midshipmen may go to the library at all times when their duties do not interfere. The library, which serves as a central agency for midshipmen and officers in their professional training, also provides the opportunity for cultural reading."

As far as we are concerned we cannot help but complain bitterly that Indians cannot defend India. India has no national army, navy and air force under the command of Indian officers. Such is the comedy and tragedy connected with an empire.

1941 and 2941 and 3941

In 2941 some inquisitive students may look up old records of the British empire in order to find out what was achieved by the British race. After careful and diligent research the students may come across two books by H. G. Wells, " Homo Sapiens " and the " New World Order." The students may also come to know that these two books had been translated into almost all the languages of the world and published in one volume under the title, " The Future of Man." Our students in 2941 have made a great discovery and they are justly proud of it. They will write a thesis for their Ph.D. degree or whatever may be the name of the equivalent degree in those days. It seems dreadful to think that the world has to wait a 1000 years to see the Future of Man as depicted by H. G. Wells. Personally I think it will be a wonder if in 2941 the world does realise that there is such a thing as The Future of Man. I am inclined to believe that it may be in 3941 that the world may understand what Mr. H. G. Wells has given as a plan for The Future of Man. So much for the Jungle Law and general stupidity of our present-day rulers.

Mr. H. G. Wells himself has made it clear that he does not expect a new heaven on earth or anything quite so startling. It is

hoped to give some relief to suffering humanity. Let me at this stage quote a few lines from the Associated Press, Lucknow, August 26, 1941:

"In the course of an interview to the press Mr. K. M. Munshi says: 'If the facts reported in today's press about the treatment of politicals in the Lucknow Jail are true, it reveals a shocking state of things. U. P. Jails in their treatment of politicals have earned an unenviable reputation throughout the country and it is a surprise that the Britishers who want India to fight Germany among others for her merciless treatment of exploited countries should not be able to put a check on the irresponsibility of petty officers."

Would America now be free if there had been no Washington? How the American colonists fought for their liberty and what they suffered during that fight should be a model lesson to India and Indians. The moral of that lesson is the realisation that: Every Indian is a born defender of India. To die for India is to live for ever. We have still faith in The Future of Man. We in India must realise that the defence of India is an important matter and that The Future of Man is also equally important. So when we think about the defence of India we must realise that in this defence The Future of Man is also involved.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

The Benares Hindu University

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, has issued the following appeal:

The Benares Hindu University which has been built and maintained by the magnificent grants, recurring and non-recurring, of the Princes and People of India and the Government of the country, will celebrate its Silver Jubilee in January, 1942.

It is a matter for rejoicing that its chief architect, to whose selfless devotion and unbounded faith, the University owes its present position—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji—is happily with us inspiring us with his own optimism.

The University to-day is the largest residential University in the country with nearly four thousand young men and women on its rolls. Though the spirit of Hindu religion interpreted in its broadest sense, inspires all its activities, it has specialised also in scientific and technological studies, realising that the future of our country depends largely on applied science. Its Engineering College, with its Mechanical and Electrical branches, is well known throughout the country, and the departments of Mining and Metallurgy, Industrial Chemistry, Agricultural Research, Ceramics, Pharmaceutical Chemistry and Glass Technology are the special features of the University, which are not to be found elsewhere. Its different colleges of Arts and Science, Theology and Oriental Learning, Ayurveda and Engineering, Law and Technology are run on the most economical lines and with the utmost possible efficiency in the present financial condition.

The University which has served the nation so nobly these last twenty-five years hopes to carry on its work and traditions. It is, however, burdened with a debt of nearly twenty lakhs of rupees and stands in urgent need of more hostel accommodation, Research Chairs for men of achievement, and Fellowships for promising young persons. We take this opportunity of appealing to the Princes and people of India to help this national institution in a generous manner on this auspicious occasion of its Silver Jubilee. All donations, large or small, will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Vice-Chancellor.

Military training for students

A plea that University students should be compelled to work for four weeks in a year in some village helping to spread literacy, to promote adult education and to improve the sanitary conditions in villages was put forward by Mr. V. M. Ramaswami Mudaliar of Vellore, delivering the inaugural address of the Theosophical College Debating Union in the Besant Hall at Madanapalle.

Referring to military training Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar said that he was an advocate of compulsory military training for University students, and recalled the resolution on the subject moved by him in the Madras Legislative Assembly. He admitted that opinion on the subject was divided. Students, he said, should be compelled to undergo training in drilling, marching and squad forming.

Committees on education

It is learnt that the three committees set up by the Central Advisory Board of Education, at its last meeting in Madras in this year, are due to meet in New Delhi in October and November.

The School Building Committee met on October, 30th and 31st and November 1st, and *inter alia* examined steps to ensure that in designing school buildings in future close attention is paid to modern scientific standard of accommodation, lighting, sanitation and ventilation.

The second committee, which meets on November 17 and 18 will consider the question of adopting a uniform Braille Code in the schools for the blind.

The third is a joint committee of the Central Advisory Boards of Education and Public Health and will consider steps which might be taken to improve the physical condition of school children. It will also consider the question of teaching of hygiene in schools. The committee meets in New Delhi on November 3, 4 and 5.

The next annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education will be held in Hyderabad on January 15 and 16. The Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker will preside.

Primary education in Assam

The Government of Assam have now under consideration proposals for better control of primary education in the province having a bearing on the problems connected with wastage in elementary education, the defects of single-teacher schools, etc.

The introduction of the Wardha Scheme of primary education was lately considered by Government but the scheme was reported after the D. P. I.'s visit to Wardha, to be unsatisfactory in its working and beyond the resources of the Province.

During the past year the number of institutions providing primary education for boys increased from 6,438 to 6,842 and the enrolment from 3,32,653 to 3,52,524. This increase was facilitated by the distribution, it is stated, of Government grants to local Boards of the provinces for taking over primary schools.

Literacy at Mysore

"Literacy and adult education are the twin aims of your work, and I can think of no more potent factors than these in laying the foundations of intelligent citizenship. I feel that these aims should find a place in the

activities of all local bodies and welfare institutions, and I can assure you that the Government will give you all the assistance in their power and will always use their influence to encourage all public bodies to take an active part in the campaign to spread literacy and adult education throughout the State," observed Rajamantrapravina N. Madhava Rao, the Dewan of Mysore presiding over the Literacy Day celebration at the Town Hall before a large gathering.

The Dewan, continuing, said that it was just a year since the Council which included representatives of the University Union, the Mysore Municipal Council and the Department of Education commenced its activities. He was glad to find that within the brief period during which it had worked substantial results had already been achieved.

"A means to an end"

"I need hardly say," the Dewan said, "that a true solution of illiteracy is a very different thing from the dissemination of a mere knowledge of the alphabet and of very elementary reading and writing. Literacy is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It must be the means of opening out to the student at least something of the great world to be found in books and should enable him to take an intelligent interest in the day-to-day affairs described, perhaps more prosaically, in the newspapers. Literacy must teach the student not merely to read and write but to think new thoughts in the new field which the rich world of books and papers unfolds before us all."

Proceeding, the Dewan observed: "It is, perhaps, of special significance that the greater part of the work hitherto done has been performed on an entirely voluntary basis by University students. There can be no finer use of the leisure which our students enjoy than the passing on in this manner of the torch of learning to their less fortunate brethren. This will also give them a valuable opportunity of learning a great deal for themselves and making contacts with people outside their own immediate circle. For this reason, I look upon the work of the Mysore Literacy Council as twice blessed. If it is a means of bringing education to a large number of illiterate adults, I hope it will also be the means of bringing to our University students some knowledge of human nature and a realisation of the difficulties and obstacles that lie in the way of human progress. It should also be the means of bringing about understanding and even friendship between all classes and castes of His Highness's subjects.

Educated unemployment

"I may perhaps be allowed to commend to you another aspect of this work. The problem of educated unemployment which is becoming serious would be far less intractable if our students would agree to continue as a career in the villages the work which they have here so well begun. The prizes may not be glittering but, I am sure, the remuneration would in the long run be adequate, while the opportunities for service as educational missionaries and social workers in the countryside should make an appeal to some of those genuinely endowed with high ideals of a University."

Britain's schools carry on

A pictorial history of the greatest transfer of population ever undertaken in Britain has been issued by the Ministry of Information on behalf of the Board of Education under the title " The Schools in Wartime."

The great migration from the evacuation to the reception areas started, it states, with machine-like precision on September 1, 1939, two days before the declaration of war. It involved the transfer of 1 500,000 people, of whom over 750,000 were children travelling in school parties with their teachers as helpers. The task had been accomplished smoothly in three days—a magnificent tribute to the railway and road transport systems.

Naturally (says the record), the scheme having been devised to meet a sudden air attack, it was not to be expected that the educational end of migration would be in perfect order. It was said that education was the first casualty of the war, but teachers, inspectors and education officers did not take that view. They worked night and day, and some of the fruits of their labours are to be seen in photographic records. They show how the children of the town found health and happiness in their strange new world in the country ; how the evacuees adapted themselves to altered conditions ; how the older children found interest in the hobbies of dress-making, cobbling, etc., which would later stand them in good stead. These pictures emphasise how thoroughly the welfare of children—physical, mental and educational—was considered.

The battle (the record continues) was an uneasy one of schools moved, children re-billeted, books and equipment supplied, and parish halls, houses and buildings of all sorts pressed into use. The general health and well-being of the children is acknowledged to be better than ever. All fears that the town would not take the country and *vice versa* have proved, after an uncertain start, to have been completely unfounded.

Many amusing and some grim stories are told in the record of those early days, but all children eventually settled down to learn many new things and even teach some things to their new neighbours and hosts.

" When the history of these days comes to be written," says Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham, President of the Board of Education during the period under review, in a foreword to the booklet, " we shall no doubt find much to regret but not little also that gives cause for satisfaction and even for pride. The quality of our education and training, with the qualities of our British character, has been proved in the fighting on land and sea and in the air, and not less in the streets and homes of our bombed cities. Day by day, too, in schools the courage and discipline of children and teachers alike have been helping to maintain the steadiness of our national life.

There has been disturbance and dislocation, but the schools are carrying on."

Miscellany

HOUSE-PLANNING IN JAPAN

In the social processes in house-planning or housing reform Japan has had no specific patent. In 1920 a Government investigation established the fact throughout Japan that there was a shortage of 122,000 houses. The Japanese Government has been encouraging public bodies since 1918 with low interest loans (4·8 per cent.) in order to enable them to undertake the construction of cheap and sanitary houses. These house-building societies have been provided with timber from state forests at low prices. The freight charges for the transportation of building materials to be used by such bodies have also been reduced. By December, 1932, there were 261 public housing associations of diverse categories in Japan including the municipalities of Osaka, Yokohama, Tokyo and other cities. They built altogether 33,500 houses at the total cost of 43,420,000 yens.*

By the Public Utility Societies of Housing Act, 1921, Japan brought into existence a number of associations with the object of enabling their members to possess their own houses through self-help. They were endowed with privileges in regard to taxation, acquisition of land, etc. Loans from the state were likewise rendered available to this class of societies. By the end of 1932 there were 2700 societies of this category with 30,000 members and they spent altogether 67,000,000 yens in building schemes.

In 1925 as the result of a country-wide investigation 217 slum quarters were discovered with 72,600 families and 309,000 inhabitants. The quarters were found to be damp by nature, the roads narrow, intricate and unpleasant, the houses small but not all compact, and of course lacking in light and ventilation. The Slum Clearance Act was passed in 1927. Down to 1932 the amount of subsidies received by public slum clearance bodies in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Yokohama and Kobe amounted to 3,500,000 yens. In accordance with the provisions of the Act the state subsidy is somewhat less than half the expenses.† British state socialism is thus being followed in Japan.

Be it observed, incidentally, that the U.S.A. happens still to be in the main a follower of laissez faire in housing policy. It thus differs fundamentally from other Western countries as well as from Japan.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

SOVIET RUSSIA IN HOUSING REFORM

As for the social processes involved in housing reform or urban reconstruction, generally, Soviet Russia can hardly show anything different from any bourgeois country. Between 1926 and 1930 the tramways were extended by 60 per cent., canalization by 40 per cent. and electric lighting by 34 per cent. throughout Russia. During the same period 29,000,000 square

* *Social Work in Japan* (Bureau of Social Affairs, Tokyo, 1934), pp. 44-48.

† *Social Work in Japan* (Tokyo, 1934), pp. 49-51. For American housing policy as contrasted with the European see Edith Wood's paper in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VII. (New York, 1932), pp. 511-517.

metres (1 metre is a little larger than a yard) of houses were built for the working classes. Housing provision was thereby made for 1,000,000 industrial workers.

Previous to 1918 clay huts were the rule among workers.* In Ukrania 40 per cent. of the workers used to live in such huts. The first Five Year Plan changed the housing conditions in this region as in others. In the republics of non-Russian nationalities housing improvements were likewise effected as shown by the amounts spent. The following figures embody the new accommodation in the regions mentioned against them:

Regions	Housing Expenses
1. Uzbekistan	48·8 million roubles
2. Tadjik Republic	16·5 ,, ,,
3. Turkoman ,,	17·8 ,, ,,

The Russian monetary system is not at all comparable with that of the bourgeois economies. It is entirely arbitrary and thoroughly elastic, managed by the government according to its own conception of the people's requirements. The prices of the Sovietic economy are likewise not to be understood in terms of the quantitative theory of money. They have no *liaison* with competition in demand or supply. The economy is totally non-competitive in every sphere, being regulated exclusively by the state in accordance with its plan or programme of the welfare of diverse classes. Hence no attempt should be made to interpret the roubles in terms of the foreign currencies and prices.

Dozens of new towns grew up in these republics of non-Russian nationalities and along with them new houses of varied types.

During the period of the Gosplan I. (1928-32) housing accommodation was being provided in Soviet Russia in the manner indicated in the following schedule:†

Year	Area built
1928	162 million square metres
1929	167 ,, ,, ,,
1930	173 ,, ,, ,,
1931	178 ,, ,, ,,
1932	185 ,, ,, ,,
Total	865 ,, ,, ,,

The total building area comprised 865 million sq. metres. Over 4,000,000,000 roubles was spent on housing.

The new housing spaces provided in the mammoth cities during the same period were as follows:

1. Moscow	2·0 million sq. metres
2. Leningrad	1·5 ,, ,, ,,
3. Kharkow	503,000 ,, ,,
4. Gorky	456,000 ,, ,,

* *Summary of the Fulfilment of the First Five Year Plan* (Moscow, 1933), p. 202.

† *Ibid.*, p. 201. See also Pribram's paper in the *Encycl. Soc. Sc.*, New York, Vol. VII., *loc. cit.*

The housing area in the Donbas region, a new industrial area, was doubled. Another new industrial area, the Urals, got 2½ times the housing it had previous to 1928.

The housing budget of Moscow in 1931 was fixed at 80,000,000 roubles. Between 1926 and 1930 nearly 2,000,000 square metres (1 metre is a little longer than a yard) of housing was provided. The number of residential buildings thus created was 5,000. The reconstruction of Moscow during this period comprised, among other things, the establishment of 5 mechanical bakeries, 15 laundryhouses, the extension of electricity and heating arrangements, and the extension of streets. The plastering of streets covered 575,000 square km. (1 km. = ⅝ mile). The operations of the Improvement Trusts in Calcutta and Bombay may be noted while watching the Bolshevik reconstruction of Moscow in order to visualize the identity of the social processes involved in the two regions. The identity is to be understood only in the formal pattern and not in the numerical or quantitative proportions which cannot be properly compared for want of total figures from the different centres in the two areas concerned.

The statistics from the different countries. Sovietic or non-Sovietic, need not be placed, be it repeated, in the perspectives of one another.* Our present study is not interested in the historical aspects of housing economics or finance or comparative housing estimates of diverse rural or urban groups. It is just the analysis of the social forms and the social processes for which such realistic data are being culled from far and near as well as for different periods.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

FIRES, EARTHQUAKES AND WARS AS AGENCIES IN HOUSING AND HEALTH PROGRESS

It is a paradox of social progress that some of the terrible natural calamities that befall towns and cities have been hailed by the people, especially the working and poorer classes, as blessings in disguise. The work of modern Improvement Trusts was consummated, so to say, by the two great fires of London in the seventeenth century. The clearance of slums and demolition of insanitary houses, streets and wards which the public health authorities of modern times take upon themselves as normal daily functions had to be taken care of by those fires. The contribution of those fires to the improvement of London's health is recognized as a historical fact.

During the first round (1914-18) of the great Anglo-German armageddon of the twentieth century Northern France and Belgium were entirely devastated. But within two years of the end of that war these regions were thoroughly renovated. Beautiful, bright and healthy-looking villages and towns made their appearance. The entire housing and farming ecology was changed. The transformations from the standpoint of health, sanitary conditions, cleanliness, modernism in installations, etc., were so perfect that the peasants and artisans of Southern and South-western France became jealous of their colleagues in Northern and North-eastern France. They were heard to complain that, as ill luck would have it, the battlefields

* For the sanitation budgets of modern states see the *Annuaire Sanitaire International* (Geneva, 1928); Germany, pp. 66-69, France, pp. 413-423, Italy, p. 537, Japan, p. 554, England and Wales, p. 825.

of that war were not laid in their own areas, or that geographically they happened to lie away from the traditional war-paths of the German armies! They knew that the houseowners, the municipalities, the authorities of the communes or the state in France would never be so generous, modern-minded and health-orientated as to undertake, on their own initiative, the demolition of the existing insanitary, medieval and ugly villages and towns. The devastations of *la grande guerre* were in popular estimation but a synonym for reconstruction, renewal, modernization and beautification in spite of the fact that *étatisme* had accomplished quite a lot in France in housing, health and other fields. Such popular observations only indicate that the work done by the state or municipalities was not adequate or at any rate unsatisfying.

In August, 1923 Japan was visited by 1030 earthquakes in the Tokyo-Yokohama region. The destruction of mills and mill properties was immense. The total losses were estimated at 1,463,700,000 yens of which nearly one-third represented the loss in residential houses and family apartments.

But by 1925 the Tokyo-Yokohama region reasserted itself in an entirely transformed social pattern. The factories and mills were enlarged and modernized in technique. The industrial area of Tokyo was zonified. Rationalization was at work in the planning for the post-earthquake towns. The domestic economy underwent a revolution, so to say, when the new buildings rose fitted up with electric installations. The replacement of gas by electricity in the household marked a tremendous social change. Steam shovels were introduced and motor lorries became commonplaces. Yokohama was remodelled on the Belgian-Dutch and German port-plans. Mechanization marked the two cities. Sanitary improvements constituted a signal feature. Earthquakes have functioned as a great benefactor to a the masses.

The second round of the Anglo-German armageddon is being fought today (since September, 1939). London, Coventry and many other towns and ports of the United Kingdom have been already visited with unthinkable destructions. On the other hand, Berlin, Hamburg and other German towns are contributing their quota to the devastations wrought by the British air-force. It is an open secret that the devastations in buildings, workshops, installations, etc., are frightening neither the one nor the other side in this warfare. The men and women on both sides are merrily looking forward to the house insurance policies and coolly awaiting the day when the new Londons and the new Berlins will be the embodiments not only of new architecture, new town-planning, new road-systems and so forth but likewise of futuristic sanitation and evolutive hygiene achievements. This is but another instance of the eternal good-evil or *dharma-adharma* amalgam which characterizes every stage of social and cultural dynamics, *i.e.*, of human progress.

It is strange that the bourgeoisie, the employers and the financial magnates, or the states which are controlled and manned by the capitalistic oligarchy do not care to devote adequate time and money to the sanitary requirements, the cultural necessities and the moral wants of the people under normal conditions. The urge for profits and dividends overpowers the financiers and their agents,—the rulers of the states,—to such an extent that they can remain thoroughly indifferent to the demands for adequate air, light, water, cleanliness, and fire-escape, etc., from the tenants of houses, or for pleasant parks, streets, recreation centres, etc., from the inhabitants of towns and villages.

Under the pressure of socialism the financiers have been compelled to change their vision to a certain extent. They do not wait normally now-a-days for the fires and earthquakes to awaken them to their civic responsibilities. But all the same, from the standpoint of the intellectual and clerical as well as the working classes the requirements can hardly be said to be adequately met by the capitalists or the bourgeois-dominated administrations. The eternal and universal cry for socialism, more socialism and still more socialism is then justified as much in housing legislation and town-planning as in sanitary-medical improvements and other branches of rural progress or national reconstruction. Be it observed *en passant* that the present war may not fail to push the socialistic activities of all bourgeois states, especially of the belligerents, forward to large-scale achievements of a somewhat or perhaps sweepingly radical character.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE IMPROVEMENT TRUSTS IN INDIA

It is at this stage that the student of social transformations can well comprehend the nature and amount of the acculturation to modern norms such as the different regions in India have been exhibiting during the last three decades or so. In formal sociology the Indian processes are but duplicates of the well-known Eur-American and Japanese. The quantity and variety of these processes can furnish indices to the socio-cultural lags between India and the go-aheads.

The Calcutta Improvement Trust Act* of 1911 made provision for the improvement and expansion of Calcutta by opening up congested areas, laying out and altering streets, providing open spaces for purposes of ventilation or recreation, demolishing or constructing buildings, acquiring land for the said purposes and for the rehousing of persons of the poorer and working classes displaced by the execution of improvement schemes. The operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust were started in 1912. The value of the work accomplished in 28 years from 1912 to 1939-40 is exhibited in the following table in the form of receipts and expenditure:†

A. Receipts

Items			Rs. in '000
1. Sale of Land	...	...	81,967
2. Sale of Buildings	...	...	5,399
3. Government Grant	...	...	5,000
4. Debenture Loans	...	...	41,750
5. Contributions for Bridges	...	...	2,392
6. Other Items	...	...	6,376
Total		...	142,884

* *Annual Report on the Operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust*, 1920-21 (Calcutta, 1921), p. 50.

† *Annual Report on the Operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust*, 1939-40 (Calcutta, 1940), pp. 38-39.

B. Expenditure

Items		Rs. in '000
1. Land Acquisition	... ...	156,146
2. Engineering Works including Stores issued		30,956
3. Surveys	... ...	340
4. Land Acquisition Office	... ...	2,440
5. Tools and Plants	... ...	2,511
Total	...	192,395

In twenty-eight years the receipts amounted to Rs. 142,884,000 and the expenditures to 192,395,000. In regard to expenditure the item on engineering works worth Rs. 30,926,000 should call for special notice. This is one of the channels through which mechanization and technocratization have been making conquests in Calcutta or, generally speaking, among the Bengali people.

In regard to the expenditure another important item is the re-housing schemes. The value of these schemes (1912-1940) is shown in expenditure as follows:*

Items		Rs. in '000
1. Land Acquisition for rehousing and open spaces	... ...	8,367
2. Engineering works in connection with rehousing	... ...	2,326
Total	...	10,693

The total area of land to be acquired by the Trust for road extensions, park constructions, etc., is 1,853 acres. The total estimated cost of engineering works is Rs. 42,339,000.

The length of streets in all the schemes is 48 miles of which 22 miles are between 100 and 300 ft. in width.

In India the lead in housing reform was taken by the Improvement Trusts in Calcutta and Bombay. The example has been followed in recent years by the establishment of Improvement Trusts in Delhi, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Lahore and other cities. The development of new areas, the clearing of existing slums, the demolition of old houses, and the construction of good wide roads are the chief items belonging to the scope of these Trusts. Down to 1938, however, " little or no progress has been made in the inauguration of comprehensive schemes in which the provincial Government, local authorities and employers of labour all participate as suggested by the Royal Commission on Labour in India " (1929-1931).†

In *Bengal Public Health Report 1939* (Calcutta, 1941, pp. 107-108) the Director, Amulya Chatterji, says that the " vast majority of the municipalities have not adopted suitable bye-laws for the buildings." He suspects, besides, that tuberculosis is increasing in the rural areas, especially where malaria has been on the increase.

* *Annual Report on the Operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust*, 1939-40 (Calcutta, 1940) pp. 40-41, 42-43, 44-45.

† *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner*, 1937, Vol. I (Delhi, 1939) pp. 108-110, 1938, Vol. I (Delhi, 1941), pp. 92-94.

In Bengal where 47 millions live in rural areas (and some 3 millions in urban) there were no improvement trusts, building societies or organizations for promoting housing schemes for industrial population in the rural areas down to 1938. But there are Town-planning Acts in certain provinces, for example, Bombay, Madras, etc. In Bombay 38 schemes involving 7,766 areas have been carried out. The Madras Town-planning Act was enforced in 129 towns during 1937-38. Be it remarked *en passant* that Madras passed the Public Health Act in 1939, being the first Province in India to do so.

The Municipal Board of Cawnpore has started the acquisition of *ahatas*, insanitary and over-crowded areas, inhabited by some 40,000 people. In 1932 there were 216 such areas of which 66 have been acquired and improved down to 1938.

No improvement trusts exist in any of the towns of Sind. But Karachi Municipality has adopted a policy of opening up congested areas and improving narrow streets and roads. Cooperative housing societies exist in Shikarpur and Dadu. The Madras Public Health Act provides, among other things, for the abatement of over-crowding. There are no building societies or cooperative schemes for the improvement of urban or rural housing in Assam.

It is to be noted that housing is provided in India by certain employers to their workingmen in or near the factory quarters at small rents. But the general conditions of industrial housing are, mildly speaking, unsatisfactory.

In 1938 there were 1,738,000 industrial workers throughout British India. The females among them were 241,000.* This was 13·8 per cent. of the total. A new element in the social pattern of this industrial population was in part the welfare works conducted for the benefit of the labour force, male and female, by the employers on a voluntary basis. These comprised hospital accommodation, sports, clubs, libraries and reading rooms, canteens, *crèches*, etc.

The economic and social position of the Indian industrial workers in the perspective of that of the Western world and Japan has been dealt with at length in my *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta 1936). Be it observed, however, that social insurance of any form does not exist in India. The absence of social insurance is but another index to the prevalence of insecurity among the rural and urban classes in regard to the housing-sanitation complex.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

PROCESSES IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Anybody who studies the annual reports of the British ministry of health and compares them with those of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India will notice that the items discussed in each are virtually identical with the exception of those bearing on health, unemployment and old age insurance. We understand that the processes involved in the transformation of interhuman traditions, the reconstruction of the *acharas* or folkways regarding health, housing and allied items do not differ from country to country. Neither a ruling race nor a dependency,

* *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India*, 1939 (Delhi, 1941) pp. 95-96. See also Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee: *Labour Legislation in British India* (Calcutta, 1938).

neither a most highly developed state nor a semi-developed region, neither a communistic people nor a bourgeois nation has anything specific to exhibit so far as the purely *formal* processes in social metabolism are concerned. The patterns of interhuman relations as manifest in analytical studies appear to be more or less uniform. But the interhuman forms exhibit differences in statistical magnitudes. It is these magnitudes that establish the *differentium*. They may at times be so great that the formations might look as if belonging to entirely different spheres or epochs.

Besides, the employment of *Blitz* (lightning) methods as, for instance, in the Five-year plans of Soviet Russia, may, in the first place, radically shorten the period of time that is otherwise likely to be required for a primitive people trying to catch up to a certain extent with the adults Secondly, it can quickly reduce the lag between the undeveloped and the developed regions. The differences between region and region, as well as epoch and epoch, are patent not so much in the individual psychological characteristics, group-sociations, social relations or social processes as in the social forms and the rates of transformation.

It is because of such statistical or quantitative differences that laymen as well as scientists are very often led to promulgate the theory of racial types, psychological dichotomies or trichotomies and such other distinctions. One of the type-philosophies is that of Dilthey,* who distinguishes three character-types, namely, (1) positivists or naturalists, (2) objective idealists, *e.g.*, Spinoza, Goethe, Hegel, etc., and (3) *Idealisten der Freibeit* (idealists of freedom), e.g., Cicero, Christian speculators, Kant, Fichte or Carlyle. Spranger has six *Lebensformen* (forms of life), namely, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. The economic " bourgeois " type of Sombart, the religious types of Max Weber, the oriental type of Keyserling and other types are further instances of psychological type-theories. It is superfluous to add that whatever be the heuristic, logical or formal value of these type-distinctions, it has been the fundamental objective of my investigations to counteract such theories. The positive facts about housing and sanitation as about other items of individual and group life should enable us to combat this kind of *Typenlehre*, some exponents of which, as we already know, are Tönnies, Spengler and Sorokin.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

* R. Müller-Freienfels : *Die Philosophie des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1923) pp. 124-127. Compare C. G. Jung : *Psychological Types* (London, 1933).

Reviews and Notices of Books

"The Veerashaiva Weltanschauung" by His Holiness Shri Kumaraswamiji, B.A.

It is an excellent booklet of twentynine printed pages presenting the Veera-shaiva world-view with extraordinary lucidity and force. The writer is to be congratulated not merely for his very impressive account of a metaphysical view in itself not very easy of presentation but also for his felicitous comparisons with other important metaphysical theories such as the Hegelian, the Bergsonian, the Sankhya, the Vedanta, etc. "The Sharana" says the writer, "comes in to effect a synthesis between Bergson and Bradley, between dynami-m and conservatism... The Shakti is the dynamic will which is the personality of the Absolute Truth or Shiva-Linga"... By "The obliteration of the division between spirit, body and mind, the sensible and the supersensible...through the infusion of infinite Power," the Veerashaiva "introduces a new meaning into spiritual life and values." The greatest contribution of Veerashaivism, according to the writer, is a unique synthesis of quietism and activism, a "spiritual dynamic fullness" which has not received its due recognition in Sankhya and Vedanta. "Not liberation but transfiguration of every movement of life"—this is the higher ideal which Veerashaiva philosophy promises to its adherents.

While the writer's views need not be accepted as final and conclusive, they certainly deserve careful consideration by every earnest student of philosophy.

S. K. MAITRA.

The Truth about Gandhi by M. D. Japheth. Price one rupee eight annas.

The book under review is concerned with Mahatma Gandhi and his cult of non-violence. The author delineates the different aspects of the eventful life of the Mahatma. The copious quotations the author makes from his writings and speeches prove highly interesting.

The book purports to be a defence of non-violence as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi. But therein no attempt is made to get to details in regard to the cult. All the author urges comes to this, that non-violence is the panacea for all ills. Non-violence will, as it is contended, pave the way for our independence and for a far better world order. There is, however, a long stage between such wishful thinking and the logic of non-violence proper.

A. C. DAS.

Ourselves

[I. Indian History Congress.—II. Study of Vernacular for Students passing Senior Cambridge Examination —III. Matriculation Candidates for 1942.—IV. Scheme for the Teaching of Statistics.—V. Dates for Examinations.—VI. Tagore Memorial Fund.—VII. St. Edmund's College, Shillong]

I. Indian History Congress

The Fifth Indian History Congress will be held at Hyderabad, Deccan, from 21st to 23rd December, 1941. The delegates of this University to the Congress will be nominated by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts early in November when the Pujah holidays come to an end.

* * *

II. Study of Vernacular for Students passing Senior Cambridge Examination

Our University has informed the Heads of Affiliated Colleges that with effect from the session 1942-43 candidates who join the Intermediate course in Arts and Science, after passing the Senior Cambridge Examination and whose vernacular is one recognised by this University will not be allowed to take up an Alternative Paper in English in lieu of the paper on Vernacular Composition.

* * *

III. Matriculation Candidates for 1942

The University has allowed all candidates for the Matriculation Examination last year who obtained the permission to submit their answers in Mathematics in English to do so this year also in case they had failed to pass the examination in 1941 or were unable to appear at it.

* * *

IV. Scheme for the Teaching of Statistics

In reply to certain enquiries made by Government regarding the scheme for the teaching of Statistics by the University for the B. A.,

B.Sc., M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations our University has stated that classes in Statistics for these different examinations will be held provisionally in the University for a period of two years and that the question of the cost involved in maintaining the department may be decided in the course of the current year by the University and Government jointly.

* * *

V. Dates for Examinations

The commencing dates of the following examinations to be held in 1942 are stated below :—

I.A. & I.Sc.	...	11th February, 1942
Matriculation	...	10th March, 1942
B.A. & B.Sc.	...	19th March, 1942
L.T. & B.T.	...	20th April, 1942
B.Com.	...	4th May, 1942

* * *

VI. Tagore Memorial Fund

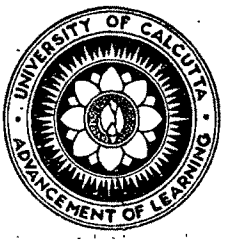
The Head Master, Shree Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Vidyalaya, has forwarded to the University the sum of Rs. 83-3-9, being the first instalment of the contribution to be made by the school to the Tagore Memorial Fund. The University has conveyed its thanks to the Head Master and has opened a separate account for perpetuating the memory of Rabindranath Tagore.

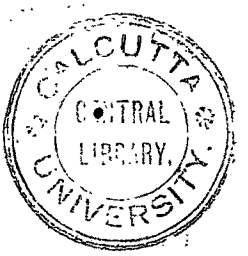
* * *

VII. St. Edmund's College, Shillong

The St. Edmund's College, Shillong, has been affiliated in History and Economics to the B.A. Honours standard, and in Botany to the Intermediate standard in Arts and Science with effect from the commencement of the session, 1941-42.

THE HON'BLE DR. S. P. MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., D.LITT.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Finance Minister, Government of Bengal.





THE
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DECEMBER, 1941

POST-WAR WORLD-ECONOMY

A GENERAL SURVEY*

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INTRODUCTION

MY object in this paper is not to enunciate the ideals or principles of world-wide economic salvation. I am proceeding on the hypothesis that the coming post-war world-economy bids fair to be but a continuation, *in the main*, of the world-economy at 1939.

Let me, then, begin by defining two terms, post-war economy, and world-economy.[1] It is not necessary to indulge in speculation in order to explain the two categories. The economic evolution from 1919 to 1939 furnishes the positive data about these phenomena.

First, then, post-war economy is, realistically considered, the economy of preparation for the next war. Secondly, world-economy is to be understood as the economy of that much of the two hemispheres which it is possible for a people to utilize,—not, however in a sinister manner, but in a spirit of "mutuality" with the other peoples of the same region.

The present war (since September, 1939) may come to an end by 1944. This, however, is not the last war. Humanly speaking, a

* A Talk to the Rotary Club of Calcutta on July 24, 1941.

1 B. K. Sarkar: "The Equations of World-Economy" (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1941).

war of revenge may be expected by 1960. Post-war world-economy, then, is tantamount to the economic structure and dynamics of the world during these fifteen or sixteen years.

The present study contains two parts and restricts itself to not more than a few items of economic life. No comprehensive treatment is being attempted,—whether topically or regionally.

We shall, first, analyze the statistics of exports and imports of the U.S.A., France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and India from 1913 (1909-13) to 1936 (1939) in order to examine the relative importance of diverse suppliers and markets in regard to each economic region. Three periods are being selected. The first is the 1913 (or average of 1909-13) period which represents the old pre-war conditions. The second period is that of 1927-31 (or 1919-23) in order to indicate the conditions of the old post-war situation. The third period is that of 1932-36 (1939) and may be taken to represent the pre-war conditions in relation to the present war (since September, 1939). It may, indeed, be taken to describe the preparations for this war.

The next item in this study is to visualize, on the objective basis furnished by the factual and realistic investigation of the first part, the general configuration or pattern of world-economy at the end of the present war. This will be followed by a brief survey of the British Empire-economy in regard to certain items and end with a few recommendations.

PART I

WORLD-ECONOMY

(1913-39)

U.S.A.

In 1913 the total imports into U.S.A. from all the countries of the two hemispheres were valued at 1,813,000,000 dollars.[2] The British countries comprising the U.K., the Dominions and the Colonies as well as India accounted for nearly 565,000,000 dollars. In percentage of the American total the British trade was 30·6.

[2] *Report on International Trade, May, 1937* (PEP, Political and Economic Planning, London), p. 252.

The average of 1927-31 for the total imports of the U.S.A. was nearly 3,565,000,000 dollars in which the British Empire's share was 1,107,000,000 dollars. The British trade was, therefore, 31·0% of the total American import trade.

In the perspective of the last pre-war year 1913 the situation in the quinquennium 1927-31, a decade after the peace of 1919, remained unchanged so far as this particular item is concerned. From 1932 to 1936 the fluctuations in the percentage were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	26·0	1935	33·6
1933	29·7	1936	36·5
1934	32·8		

The average of this quinquennium was 31·7 which may be placed in the background of 30·6 of 1913. It may be said that there was hardly any change. The fluctuation was relatively slight.

We shall now take the exports from the U.S.A. In 1913 American exports to the rest of the world totalled 2,466,000,000 dollars, the share of the entire British Empire being 1,112,000,000 dollars. The British trade was then 45·1 per cent of the U.S.A.'s total export trade. For the quinquennium 1927-31 the total export trade of the U.S.A. was 4,301,000,000 dollars in which the British Empire's share was 1,787,000,000 dollars. The British percentage of the American total was 41 5, having come down from the 45·1 of 1913.

For the quinquennium 1932 1936 the percentages were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	38·9	1935	41·6
1933	36·9	1936	42·3
1934	39·7		

The average for this quinquennium was 39·9 as against 45·1 of 1913. One may say that it was 40 against 45 of 1913 and 42 of 1927-31. The change was not unsubstantial.

Both in regard to imports and exports as between the U.S.A. and the British Empire we may observe that the war of 1914-18 produced hardly any changes. Or rather, the few fluctuations were almost immaterial, taking a broad view of the question, *i e.*, if we

ignore the fortunes of individual trades and industries, the variations in their direction and tendencies, and the changes in the internal organization of the economy in the two regions. During the first half of this war the U.S.A. was neutral. America became ally of the British Empire for the second half. But these political-military contacts of a specially friendly character could not work like a magic. They failed to bring about a substantial transformation of the trade relations between the two countries in the immediate post-war period or the subsequent three or four quinquennia.

France

The analysis of commercial relations between France[3] and the British Empire is equally instructive. During the five-year period 1909-13 the total imports of France from all the countries of the world amounted to 7,627,000,000 francs *per annum* on the average. The British Empire's contribution was 1,661,000,000 frs. In the total import trade the Britlsh percentage was 21·8. During the five-year period 1927-31 the total was 51,915,000,000 frs. and the British 11,029,000,000 frs. Compared with the total the British trade was 21·2 per cent. This is to be placed in the background of 21·8 per cent during 1909-13. The relative position remained virtually unchanged.

For the next quinquennium the percentages were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	16·5	1935	16·3
1933	16·1	1936	14·9
1934	15·9		

The average for this period was 15·3. The decline from 21·8 and 21·2 is not immaterial.

The total exports from France during 1909-13 amounted on the average to 6,324,000,000 frs. per year, the exports to the British Empire being 1,388,000,000 frs. The British Empire commanded 22·0 per cent of the total export trade of France. The average for 1927-31 was total 46,142,000,000 frs. and 9,026,000,000 frs. for the

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

British Empire, the average percentage of the British being 19·6. This was not far from 22·0 of 1909-13.

For the quinquennium 1932-36 the percentages were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	13·3	1935	12·0
1933	11·6	1936	20·6
1934	10·6		

The average came to 13·6. This decline from 22·0 of 1909-13 and 19·6 of 1927-31 is to be treated as substantial.

Franco-British commercial relations are interesting. The French and the British Empires were allies from the start to the end. Down to 1931, *i.e.*, for thirteen years after the peace, the British percentages both in the import and the export trades of France were almost identical with those in the pre-war period. People might say, on the strength of such data, that the war by itself failed to generate any mentionable transformation.

But subsequently there have been changes and these changes are noteworthy. Both in imports and exports the British percentage has been showing a substantial decline. This decline cannot be attributed to the war. Even a political and military alliance has not been able to maintain the pre-war proportion. Nor could the international comradeship of the two Empires during the *milieu* of co-operation under the auspices of the League of Nations succeed in preventing the decline of the British Empire's percentage in the import and export trade of the French Empire. The "magic" of war, the "magic" of alliance, the "magic" of post-war "reconstructions", the "magic" of war to end wars,—all failed to work miracles in international trade. In economics as in religion magic may have a rôle. But it does not always work.

Germany

Not less instructive is Germany's trade relation with the British Empire. In 1913 Germany's imports totalled 10,770,000,000 m. in which 2, 083,000,000 m. represented the British Empire's share, constituting 19·3 per cent. of the total.[4] The annual average for

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

1927-31 was total 11,769,000,000 m., 2,260,000,000 m. for the British Empire and 19·2 as the British percentage. During the third five-year period after 1919 Germany was importing from the British Empire nearly the same percentage of her foreign requirements as in the pre-war war.

Germany and the British Empire had been enemies. And yet the former's commercial behaviour with the latter was identical with that of the latter's allies, U.S.A. and France. Military enmity or military alliance as such produced no impacts on international trade in post-war periods. One should say that these four economic regions were moving alongside of one another in 1931 exactly as they had been in 1913 and as if the war of 1914-18 had not intervened.

For the five-year period 1932-36 the British percentages of the German import trade can be seen in the following figures:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	17·3	1935	14·9
1933	18·6	1936	16·8
1934	16·7		

The average of the period 1932-36 was 16·8, as against 19·3 of 1913. There was a decline of 2·5, which, although not considerable, is yet noteworthy. The German-British situation was parallel to or identical with the Franco-British.

Let us now examine Germany's export trade. In 1913 the total value was 10,097,000,000 m., the British Empire's share being 1,960,000,000 m. The British trade was 19·4 per cent of the total. The annual average for the period 1927-31 was total 11,594,000,000 m. and British 1,725,000,000 m. The average British percentage of Germany's exports was 14·9. This was considerably lower than 19·4 of 1913.

For the five-year period 1932-36 the British percentages can be seen below:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	12·1	1935	15 2
1933	13·0	1936	15·6
1934	15·1		

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

The average was 14·2, slightly lower than or almost the same as in the period 1927-31. The decline in the British percentage of German export from the *niveau* of 1913 may be treated as identical with that in the field of French export during the same period (1913-36).

Japan

In 1913 the imports into Japan[5] from all the British Empire countries were valued at 319,100,000 yens out of the total imports of 834,600,000 yens. The British trade was 38·2 per cent of the total. The average annual percentage of the British trade during the five-year period 1927-31 was 30·5. The decline from 38·2 per cent was palpable.

The percentages during 1932-1936 were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	28·4	1935	31·3
1933	31·7	1936	31·7
1934	31·5		

The average for this quinquennium was 30·9, almost identical with the average for 1927-31. The decline in import percentage from the level of 1931 has remained a steady fact.

The exports from Japan to the British Empire in 1913 were worth 120,700,000 yens in a total export trade of 729,050,000 yens. In percentage of the total export the British trade was 16·5. During 1927-31 the annual percentage rose to 21·5. From 1932 to 1936 the percentages were as follows:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1932	26·8	1935	26·7
1933	25·7	1936	26·6
1934	27·6		

The average was 26·7. The expansion (from 16·5) is remarkable. Japanese exports to British countries may be said to have increased, so to say, by leaps and bounds.

In actual figures it may be pointed out that while Japanese exports to the British Empire were worth 120,700,000 yens in 1913 they were worth 712,500,000 yens in 1936. The two biggest items

may be singled out, for instance, the exports to the U.K. and India-Ceylon (in million yens):

Countries	1913	1936
U.K.	32·9	147·3
India & Ceylon ...	29·9	272·9

We get the following equations:

1. Japan in U.K. (1936) = 4·5 Japan in U.K. (1913).
2. Japan in India-Ceylon (1936) = 9·1 Japan in India-Ceylon (1913).

In 1936 Japan exported to the U.K. 4·5 times her quota of 1913 and to India-Ceylon 9·1 times.

During the same period the imports of Japan from the U.K. declined absolutely from 122,700,000 yens to 72,900,000 yens and from India and Ceylon rose from 173,200,000 yens to 374,600,000 yens only.

How shall we describe Japan's political orientations to the British Empire? Rival? Inimical? or Friendly? Whatever they be,—commercially, her expanding markets are to be found in the British Empire which takes more than a quarter of her exports.

U.K.

A somewhat long-period view of commercial transformations may be obtained from an examination of the course of British trade during three quarters of a century.[6]

The imports of the United Kingdom from non-Empire countries have been somewhat steady in percentage of the total imports. The following table indicates the evolution from 1856 to 1929:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1856	75·1	1901	79·8
1871	78·0	1913	75·1
1881	76·9	1929	73·8
1891	77·2		

Nearly 75 per cent of the United Kingdom's total imports came from foreign countries. This percentage may be taken to have been more or less constant, the fluctuations being rather slight.

[6] A. Bowley: *England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1905), *Some Economic Consequences of the War* (London, 1930), *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom* (London, 1934), pp. 348-349, B. K. Sarkar: *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World Economy* (Calcutta, 1934), p. 121.

British imports from the Empire and the non-Empire countries from 1931 to 1936 are shown in percentage as follows:[7]

Year	Empire	Non-Empire	Total
1931	28·7	71·3	100
1932	35·5	64·5	100
1933	36·9	63·1	100
1934	37·1	62·9	100
1935	37·6	62·4	100
1936	39·2	60·8	100

The percentage of Empire trade in the British imports has increased from 28·7 to 39·2 while that of the non-Empire trade declined from 71·3 to 60·8.

As for exports from U.K. the share of the foreign countries can be seen below from 1856 to 1929:

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1856	71·2	1901	62·4
1871	77·0	1913	62·8
1881	66·3	1929	59·0
1891	65·2		

The trend of exports to non-Empire countries is towards a decline in percentage from 71·2 in 1856 to 59·0 in 1929. In other words, British exports have been on the increase to the Empire countries. The percentage increased from nearly 29 in 1856 to 41 in 1929. The Empireward advance of exports is then a fact of the evolution of some seventy-five years.

The trend of British exports to Empire and non-Empire countries from 1931 to 1936 may be seen below in percentages:

Year	Empire	Non-Empire	Total
1931	43·7	56·3	100
1932	45·3	54·7	100
1933	44·4	55·6	100
1934	46·9	53·1	100
1935	48·0	52·8	100
1936	49·2	51·8	100

[7] *Report on International Trade* (PEP, London, May, 1937), p. 248.

The percentage of British exports to Empire countries increased from 43·7 in 1931 to 49·2 in 1936 while that to non-Empire countries declined from 56·3 to 51·8. Imperial Preference made itself felt.

India

The imports of India[8] from non-Empire countries during the pre-1913 quinquennium constituted 30·3 per cent. of the total imports. For the period 1919-23 the percentage was 34·8. India's dependence on non-Empire countries was mentionably larger at this date. Political ties as a member of the Empire could not prevent expansion of this dependence.

During 1938-39 this dependence on non-Empire countries rose still higher, up to 41·9 per cent (from 30·3 per cent of 1913, be it emphasized).

The pre-1913 average of India's exports to non-Empire countries in percentage of total Indian exports was 58·9. The same percentage during the 1919-23 period was 58·6, *i.e.*, almost identical with the previous. The percentage declined to 46·4 during 1938-39.

In regard to commercial relations one cannot, then, trust to war-psychology or diplomatic contacts for the establishment of any desired or particular direction, at any rate, for a long period. The international trade contacts establish themselves, generally speaking, on non-war and non-political considerations. In order to produce a desirable result one is required to cultivate a conscious and goalful commercial policy. And the working of this policy necessitates careful watching from month to month.

AUTARCHY IN FACT AND SPECULATION

The experiences from the war of 1914-18 are, then, rather curious.

The sum-total of changes or transformations that take place during a war is, in general, very modest, rather insignificant. At the end of a war the world starts, so to say, as if the war did not exist. War-enthusiasms, war-idealisms, war-hatreds, war illusions and war-schemes may not endure. Post-war changes are almost invariably generated by non-belligerent considerations. They may, to certain extent, be regarded as the aftermath of the war. But, as a

[8] *Review of the Trade of India* (Delhi), 1928-29, p. 171, 1938-39, p. 190.

rule, it is " business " and not " politics " that in the last analysis rules the world-economy, taken in a broad sense.

In the instance referred to, technocratic changes of a tremendous character constituted, however, the most dramatic events. Every war is organically associated with inventions in tools, implements, and machineries. Drastic changes in social (labour) legislation were also some of the characteristic features. But even in both these fields the start, already made at 1913, might have explained,—without a war,—many of the phenomena of the world-economy at 1925. This is, undoubtedly, an extreme position and need not be stressed but cannot by any means be overlooked.

But it is implied that, on statistical and inductive considerations, economists ought as a rule to fight shy of employing the category, " revolution," while describing the transformations in the economic pattern. The processes in the transformation appear on a somewhat longer view,—say, a half-generation-long survey,—generally speaking, to be rather slow and gradual. In economic curves, realistic as they are, the short-period revolutionary phases may be nearly ignored.

The period 1927-31 witnessed two economic phases. The first was the economic boom which reached its zenith in 1929. The second was the world-economic depression 1930-32. The period 1932-36 saw the *nadir* of depression (1932). The next four years 1933-36 were years of new economic policies in every country. They comprised trade agreements as well as currency manipulations of all sorts. It is these economic policies that mainly account for the changes in the export-import proportions indicated above.

These policies were chiefly protectionist. They were generally undertaken to combat unemployment.[9] Economists and statesmen referred to them as attempts at economic autarchy, *swaraj* or self-sufficiency in diverse forms or doses. Imperial Preference was comprehensively adopted for the British Empire as well as the French Empire (1932-34). Germany adopted national-socialism as her economico-political and socio-economic creed. Her industrial and commercial manifesto was that of the four-year-plan (1933-36). The alleged Anglo-French and German autarchies or " *swadeshi* movements " were then substantially well lodged in the world-economy.

[9] B. K. Sarkar: *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 75-84; *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1938), chapter on " The World-Crisis in its Bearings on the Regions of the Second and the First Industrial Revolutions."

The five-year period previous to September, 1939,—the commencement of the present war,—may be taken as the period of preparation for it. But even during this period neither the allies or enemies of the last war nor the prospective enemies or allies of the war to come behaved in a specially mentionable,—*i.e.*, friendly or unfriendly,—manner, so far as factual exports and imports are concerned.

The changes in *the directions of trade* between region and region during 1933-39 cannot be treated as, on the whole, unsubstantial, although not very considerable. But they have been directly promoted,—in a deliberate manner,—by the commercial policies adopted by each region. In every instance the primary motive was economic,—the promotion of the agrar-industrial strength on as diverse fronts as possible. The prospective or eventual war was also an ingredient in the commercial or political mentality. This tended in each instance to look for national prosperity on a self-sufficiency basis rather than according to some inter-allied or international ideal.

It is for the shrewd businessman to ascertain,—realistically from quarter to quarter,—to what extent he can depend upon the war atmosphere and how far his commitments should be governed by pure economics. Humanly speaking, it should be extremely rash to *generalize* about the proportional rôle of the two factors,—war and economics,—in the world-economic developments

The objective statistics of exports and imports point but to one or two very elementary things.

A political friend or military ally is not necessarily the most worth while commercial client. Nor is a political rival or military enemy the worst paying market. A political-military interpretation of economics in a monistic or deterministic manner turns out, inductively speaking, to be as unwarrantable as the Marxist economic interpretation of politics, military movements or culture. In every instance the attempt on the part of businessmen has remained to find contacts not with eventual military allies but with persons or groups that happen to be good paymasters.

National autarchy or self-sufficiency in the economic sphere was staisttically unknown during this period. The international or inter-regional trade contacts were as great facts of the world-economy as

during any other period.[10] For the present, it is not necessary to go into the historical fluctuations in the volume of international trade from decade to decade.

The ideal of economic autarchy was no doubt prominent everywhere. But the realizations of this ideal were very limited and relative. In no significant sense could autarchy be regarded as a fact of substantial value.

The absence of autarchy in the different units of the British Empire may be assessed by a reference to the ratio of " retained merchandise imports " to " net national income." The percentages of imports to income, *as thus defined,* were as follows (imports for 1929, income for 1925-34) :[11]

Imperial units	Percentages	Imperial units	Percentages
South Africa	47·2	Canada	25·6
New-Zealand	33·7	U.K.	24·7
Australia	27·8	India	6·1

The dependence of the Imperial units on foreign imports in 1929 ranged from 6·1 per cent (India) to 47·2 per cent (South Africa). These differential ratios may be ignored in case the entire British Empire be envisaged as one economic unit. Thus considered, the British Empire's dependence on the non-British world,—and, therefore, its absence of autarchy, was registered in 1937 by 8·0 per cent.

The absence of autarchy was an universal phenomenon. Relatively speaking, autarchy was enjoyed in 1929 by the exceptionally large-sized regions. Somewhat low ratios of dependence on foreign imports were exhibited by the following regions:

Regions	Percentages	Regions	Percentages
1. U.S.S.R.	2·6	3. India	6·1
2. China	3·6	4. U.S.A.	6·6

With the exception of these " relative " autarchies in the U.S.S.R., China, India and the U.S.A., the world-economy was

[10] B. K. Sarkar, " Industrial Planning and Economic Autarchy " (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1939).

[11] " Degrees of National and Regional Self-sufficiency " in *The Bulletin of International News* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, April, 19, 1941), pp. 475-479.

essentially a system of mutual dependence. The ratios of dependence on foreign imports in regard to certain regions are indicated below in the perspective of the U.K. and the British Empire:

Regions	Percentages	Regions	Percentages
U.K.	24·7	Germany	18·2
Italy	21·4	Japan	12·3
France	18·3	British Empire	8·0

In regard to the economics of autarchy it should be observed, in the first place, that it is not necessarily a mark of or a factor in economic prosperity. In the second place, in case it be regarded as a factor in military-political strength the British Empire with its 8 per cent was, humanly speaking, normally in the most solid position in 1937.

PART II

WORLD-ECONOMY (1944-60)

The Regime of Seven Internationalisms

The economic configuration of the two hemispheres, such as can be reasonably deduced from the statistical study of recent economic evolution, is quite intelligible. We get the pattern of doses of autarchy amalgamated with doses of internationalism.

World-economy is not to be understood as totalitarian cosmopolitanism, which is the common factor in the manifold ideologies of "new order", "world-order" or "world-federation." Nothing more than a number of "organized internationalisms" on the economic plane is, at the present stage of interhuman relations and developments, conceivable as a system of practical business questions. These internationalisms are to be understood as more or less independent planetary systems of the commercial world evolving round certain dominant forces. The existence of a unitary solar system regulating the agricultural, industrial and commercial activities and institutions of the two hemispheres has to be ruled out of the picture. In the place of a totalitarian world-economy we have to visualize at least a number of regional or partial world-economies.

These regionalized and pluralistic world-economies may be envisaged as embodied in and revolving around, say, the following seven economies:

1. The British Empire-Economy.
2. The French Empire-Economy.
3. The American Economy.
4. The Russian Economy.
5. The Japanese Economy.
6. The German Economy.
7. The Italian Economy.

They are to be regarded as "organized internationalisms" or territorially partial world-economies because of two considerations. First, each planetary system will have its own currency. The economic regions normally belonging to this system are bound to one another by a more or less uniform or uniformly manipulated monetary organization. In the second place, the customs tariff binds each of these systems into a more or less unified whole. Each planetary system may be described as a tariff-union or customs-union.

The economic transactions of the two hemispheres are to be conceived as divided up between these seven zones. These zones may be described, without camouflage, by the notoriously unpopular words, "spheres of influence" or "spheres of interest." It is not to be understood that these seven international systems are hermetically sealed against one another. Transportation, trade, travel and traffic of all forms are to be regarded as normal and daily affairs between these regionalized world-economies. By no means should they be suspected as representing in any way the "closed commercial states" of economic and political theory.

It is quite possible that from time to time some or all of these seven international systems would exchange views with one another. Once in a while it may be felt expedient for some of them to get acculturated to one another in certain currency, banking, transportation or other policies. By way of illustration, the Sterling Bloc may be referred to. But, generally speaking, they are to be taken as constituting a world of mutually suspicious and unassimilative as well as independent or exclusive internationalisms or federations.

International cartels[12] for production and for marketing have been seeking to regionalize output as well as trade. Institutions

[12] B. K. Sarkar: "Trusts and Rationalization: Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution", "International Cartels", and "Cartels in Japan" in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* (Calcutta), for September, 1927, December, 1930 and December, 1931.

like the International Sugar Council, the International Association of Rubber Producers, the International Steel Cartel, Coppers Exporters, Ltd., the Mercury Cartel, the International Association of Manufacturers of Rollingstock and numerous other cartellized associations are more or less world-wide in jurisdiction. Their utility has not been gainsaid and indeed has been officially recognized by the grant of Government sanctions, even during the epoch of autarchistic *swadeshism* throughout the world.

Cartellizations of the international type are no new phenomena. They have been going on for decades. It is only during the last half-generation, especially since the world depression of 1929-32, that they have become popular and household words. Such international interlockings will, off and on, be found quite assimilable to the seven planetary systems conceived in this study.

An international currency such as is likely to be legal tender throughout the world is out of the question. Equally unthinkable is the system of universal free trade which can render tariff walls unnecessary. Polycentric world-economy,—multiple-currencied and hetero-tariffed economic internationalism,—appears to be the type of pluralistic organization that awaits us in the near future and is likely to prevail among mankind for some long time to come.

The economists of the League of Nations are right when in one of their annual publications they declare that "the prospect of world specialization upon the basis of nationally planned economies is still remote."[13] This was written six years ago. We should consider this position to be valid for quite a number of six years from today.

It is only when patients suffer extreme agony that they make all kinds of wonderful resolve, especially in the presence of the attending doctor or priest, about behaving in a correct manner once they get well. Patients do not always die. Nor do they always recall their resolve or vow when they start once more to live and flourish. Individuals organized in groups known as nations or states do not happen to possess a new psychology on account of the organization. The fact of coming together in inter-individual patterns does not induce automatically a new mentality. Social man makes pious resolves in the *milieu* of wars as to the spurning of a particular

[13] *World-Economic Survey*, 1934-35 (Geneva, 1935), p. 188. See also C. W. Guillebaud : "Hitler's New Economic Order for Europe" and P. Einzig : "Hitler's 'New Order' in Theory and Practice" in the *Economic Journal* (London), December, 1940 and April, 1941.

attitude or the banning of some special policy in post-war situations. Wars do not last long, post-war conditions emerge at the proper moment, but men and women forget their war-time pious wishes, and the world muddles on merrily all the same.

It is in this individual and social psychology that we find the justification of Lionel Robbins's conclusion in the paper, *Economic Factors and International Disunity*,[14] published by the Institute of International Affairs (London). "The root cause of the difficulty," says he, "is not economic, it is political." Further, "while reason and persuasion are important, I do not think that we can trust to reason and persuasion alone to preserve the world from anti-social national policies."

Wars, then, are to be treated as normal and recurrent phenomena in world-economy. Autarchy *i.e.*, *swadeshism* in agriculture, manufacture, banking, insurance and transportation has likewise to be regarded as a constant factor in the international *milieu*. And yet world-orders or new orders, *i.e.*, internationalisms of some sort or other may be promoted in the commercial relations of mankind. The economic world has to proceed pragmatically and watch the steps (*i.e.*, the results obtained) and formulate the objectives or goals (*i.e.*, the results expected) from one short period to another short period. Millennial ideals or projects and policies cannot be entertained as economic realisms or rationalities.

The British Empire-Economy as a System of Economic Decentralization

The chief consideration for the British Empire-economy is the promotion of its own strength as a territorially partial world-economy or a regionally internationalized economic unit. It is postulated that its impacts on the other international systems and their impacts on it are normal economic phenomena. It is understood also that a number of economic regions which do not legally, constitutionally or politically belong to the British Empire, may get linked up with this economy in self interest. The linking can be done chiefly by currency affiliation and by customs assimilation.

[14] *World Order Papers* (London, August, 1940), pp. 44-45.

All those economic regions in the two hemispheres which possess relatively extensive markets in the British Empire or are dependent on it for capital, are likely to feel the natural urge for seeking their currency and traiff amalgamation with this international system. The economic linking is not necessarily to be treated as a function or correlate of political or military association. It is to be understood as a purely business proposition, a matter of day to day convenience in trade and transport.

The strengthening of the British Empire with a view to the eventual world developments of the next two or three decades will depend in a large measure on the promotion of economic autarchy or self-sufficiency in its constituent parts. It should not be the policy of British finance to treat India, the Dominions and the Colonies as complementary to the United Kingdom or to one another in regard to output and supplies. No Dominion or Colony can be safely permitted to specialize in certain lines to the exclusion of others. Nor may it be reasonable to let India move on in a *laissez faire* manner exclusively in those fields in which the Indian people can easily exhibit their special strength. India will have to be deliberately developed into a comprehensively self-sufficient economic unit. The U.K. cannot afford to have itself obsessed by certain specialized activities and depend for the majority of its requirements on the Empire countries or abroad. It is not the line of least resistance, or the field of special facilities, that may be safely attended to in the different units of the Empire.

The paramount desideratum is the conscious and goalful development of diversified economic enterprises of all grades in each and every Imperial region. The British Empire has need to be planfully transformed into an economic federation of strong agrar-industrial or mixed autarchies. This would be economic decentralization on inter-imperial scale. Financial statesmanship will have to allocate the investments in as many different lines of agriculture, manufacture, trade and transportation as possible in the Dominions, Colonies, India as well as the U.K. Altogether, we encounter the problem of an extensive reorganization of the finances and economic structure of the Imperial regions. The diversification of economic activities or business enterprises in each region has to be understood as the "balancing" of Imperial resources in finance, technique, employment and output in a rationalized manner.

India's Industrial Autarchy

What ought to be India's place in this system of decentralized Empire-finance and co-ordinated net-work of Imperial autarchies or self-sufficient units? Let us examine the present situation. During the three year period 1936-39 India had to depend annually for nearly 325,000 tons of iron and steel goods on imports from foreign countries. These goods comprised such essentials as steel bars, galvanized sheets, beams, hoops and strips, tubes, pipes, nails, tinned sheets, fishplates, rails and so forth.[15]

For machinery and mill work India had to place orders with overseas countries to the tune of Rs. 197,200,000 in 1938-39. The industrialization of India is bound to be halting and limping as long as the Indian people remains incapable of manufacturing tools, implements, and machineries of all classes in adequate proportions. During the present war the situation is not as bad in this field as during the war of 1914-18. The reports of businessmen and bazar specialists indicate that the output of indian industry for war effort comprises many items in machinery, tool, and equipment. Writing as we do in the last week of July, 1941, it is possible for us to observe on the strength of statements from the Eastern Group Supply Council that nearly 75 per cent of the requirements of the British armies east of Suez have been produced in India. Among these supplies are to be found engineering stores, guns, munitions, and armour plating as well as textiles and leather products. Small-sized ships, mine-sweepers and submarine chasers have been built in India as a part of the war effort. Repairs of the mercantile fleet have also been undertaken in the Indian shipbuilding yards.

All the same, the primitive and infantile condition of many of the lines in machine-building industry cannot be doubted. Some of these industries have not gone beyond their experimental stages. India coutinues to be a heavy drag on the British Empire in these as in many other lines of modern efficiency.

In the textile machinery, oil crushing machinery, lathes, printing presses, electric installations and several other lines elementary beginnings have been made. For all practical purposes they are not really mentionable. The production of boilers, prime movers, paper mill machinery, sugar machinery and so forth remains still a will-o-'

[15] *Review of the Trade of India 1938-39* (Delhi 1939), pp. 94 95, 96, 99-100, 104.

the-wisp of India's industrial ambition. Machines of quality are *ultima thules* in every line.

Another will-o 'the-wisp is the production of motor vehicles of which nearly 13,000 cars and 10,300 omnibuses, vans, etc., were imported per year during 1936-39. To the same group belongs the manufacture of ships as as well as of aeroplanes. Incidentally it may be observed that the first aeroplane has already been produced at Bangalore and the foundation of the first Indian modern shipbuilding yard laid at Vizag.

In chemicals India's dependence on foreign imports was to be measured by Rs. 30,500,000 in 1938-39. The lines covered sodium carbonate, caustic soda, acetic acid, citric acid, potassium compounds, zinc compounds, calcium compounds, bleaching powder, copper sulphate, glycerine and so forth. In this sphere India's deficiencies ought not to remain as they are for any lengthy period. The industry of chemicals and drugs is waiting for a vigorous push.

The Eastern Group Conference or an institution similar to this ought to be a permanent fixture in post-war years. Its functions should be somewhat different from those with which it is entrusted in order to serve and accentuate the war-effort. It should function with the prime object of promoting the industrial autarchy of India and those Empire regions which are not up to the mark in Industrial fields.[16]

The Reagrarization of the U.K.

So far as the U.K. is concerned, the most important item that needs special reconstruction is the occupational structure of the people. As low as 6·7 per cent of the gainfully employed men and women of England-Wales is occupied in agricultural activities (1931).[17] Both economically and socially as well as politically and militarily this index should deserve the most serious consideration of experts in Empire planning. The meaning of this index will be apparent in the prespective of the corresponding indices of some other countries, *e.g.*,

Countries	Agricultural Employment Index	Countries	Agricultural Employment Index
England-Wales ...	6·7	Italy ...	46·7
U.S.A. ...	22·0	Japan ...	49·6
Germany ...	28·8	India ...	66·5
France ...	35·7	Russia (1926)	85·0

[16] B. K Sarkar : " The Equations of World-Economy " :*Calcutta Review*, June, 1941), the section on "The War-Economy and Indian Industrialism."

[17] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich* 1931 (Berlin) pp. 37*-38*.

In terms of competitive economics there is no harm, be it said at once, in a region's abandoning agriculture to the dogs and specializing itself in non-agricultural pursuits. The prosperity of a country can be expanded and maintained at an increasingly higher rate by industry and commerce to the almost total neglect of agriculture. As long as the output in other lines is plentiful and relatively cheap (or less expensive) it is possible to exchange a part of it for food and raw materials from other countries. This line of reasoning is quite valid in economic theory.

But in the interest of Empire economy the purely economic considerations of a theoretical character should not be permitted to hold the ground. The experiences of the war of 1914-18 as well as of the present war should not fail to be eye-openers in regard to the value of an eventual food-autarchy for the British people. The Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation examined the problem in 1924. Steps have been taken since then to expand or rather accelerate the operation of the Small Holdings Act of 1908. A fillip has thereby been rendered to the re-agrarization of the British people. Besides, the Agricultural Marketing Acts of 1931 and 1933 have served to offer protection to agriculture on almost continental lines.[18]

All these measures are movements in the right direction. And yet the fact remains that the percentage of British food requirements imported from abroad is exceptionally high, for instance:[19]

Article	Percentage Imported.	Article	Percentage Imported.
Butter ...	90	Mutton and Lamb	58
Wheat	75	Beef ...	50
Bacon and ham	69	Eggs ...	44
Sugar ...	66		

It is to these and allied fields that British investments have to be diverted. These are some of the essential or key trades which deserve relatively greater outlay and solicitude. If India's essential or key trades are to be encountered in the domain of engineering, chemistry, manufacture, or in one word, industry, the U.K.'s essential

[18] B. K. Sarkar : *Economic Development*, Vol. I (Madras, 1926, 1938), ch. on "The Small Holdings Movement in British Land Legislation"; J. H. Richardson : *British Economic Foreign Policy* (London, 1936), ch. on "Agricultural Policy"; J. H. Clapham : *An Economic History of Modern England*, 1687-1929 (London, 1938).

[19] *Report on International Trade* (PEP, London 1937), p. 206.

or key industries are to be seen in agriculture and animal husbandry. The "balancing" of occupations and employments takes two different forms in the two economic regions.

Coming back to the agricultural employment index it should appear that the British people cannot afford any longer to rest content with 6·7 per cent. The index will have to be raised not, indeed, to the Russian *niveau* of 85 but perhaps somewhere near the American, say, to 20. The problem of re-agrarization of the British people ought to command the greatest amount of economic statesmanship in regard to the post-war economy. It is in this manner that the ideology of diversified economy for the U.K. in the place of the present state of ultra-industrialization may be realized in practice. Statesmanship should not fail also to be convinced that a relatively larger farm population is likely to be a source of milltary, political and social strength to the U.K. Psychologically, besides, the British people ought to get used to the idea that a somewhat larger level in agrarization need not automatically imply a backwardization or decline in culture and modern progress.

The British Industrial Employment Index

The raising of the agricultural employment index,—the re-agrarization—would involve, as a matter of course, the lowering of the industrial employment index, *i.e.*, a course of de-industrialization. In England-Wales (1931) 49·9, say, 50 per cent of the gainfully employed is occupied in the industrial and mining enterprises. The corresponding industrial indices for the countries mentioned in connection with the agricultural employment index are as follows:[20]

Countries	Industrial Employment Index.	Countries	Industrial Employment Index.
England-Wales	49·9	Italy	28·7
Germany	40·6	Japan	22·0
U.S.A.	35·2	India	10·6
France	35·1	Russia (1926)	8·9

The hyper-industrialized character of British occupational structure is obvious. It becomes much too palpable in the background of

[20] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich*, 1931 (Berlin), pp. 37*-38.*

the excessively low agricultural employment index. But de-industrialization is likely to be a damaging category in British thought. It will require extraordinarily bold statesmanship and profoundly realistic Empire-view to be convinced that the industrial employment index should be deliberately and planfully brought down to a certain extent.

Perhaps the most fundamental preliminary consideration in this regard is the psycho-sociological. The British social *mores* have got to acculturate themselves to the idea that a relatively lower dose of industrialization cannot signify a somewhat lower level of culture, civilization or prestige by the world-standard. Nor can a relative de-industrialization spell a comparatively reduced military strength. The objectives armed at are entirely otherwise.

What should be the ideal industrial employment index for the British people in view of the new Empire-economy recommended in this study? The question may be left open. But certain indications suggest themselves at once. The index is not, of course, to be brought down to the Russian or Indian level, nor even to the Japanese or the Italian. Perhaps the Franco-American level of 35 may not appear too revolutionarily low in case British economic statesmanship be wide-awake enough to the needs of comprehensive Empire development. This becomes a few points lower than the present German level (40·6). But it is to be understood that the U.K. is asked to plan for the entire Empire in one rationalized scheme whereas with Germany the question of overseas possessions and planning for them does not arise.

Altogether, the post-war Empire-economy as envisaged in this analysis would comprise the following two items:

1. Relatively greater doses of the U.K.'s independence *vis-à-vis* the Dominions, Colonies and India in regerd to agriculture. (U.K.'s agricultural autarchy).

2. Relatively greater doses of independence enjoyed by the Dominions, Colonies and India *vis à-vis* the U.K. in regard to the industries. (The industrial autarchy of these Empire regions).

These two orders of autarchy for the diverse Empire-regions,—the agrarization of the U.K. and the industrialization of India, the Colonies and Dominions,—in order that each may be rendered as diversified in occupations as possible should constitute the fundamental lines of reconstruction that the British Empire planners may be called upon

to examine in a careful manner. This problem may be taken up with the question of the "need for balanced regional development" discussed by Political and Economic Planning (PEP), London.[21] It should be pointed out that the items of inter-Imperial balancing have been overlooked by PEP. But they are too important to be ignored by economic statesmanship.

The Repopulation Problem of the U.K.

Another recommendation for the strengthening of the British people with an eye to the furtherance of the interests of the Empire economy should be the inauguration of the policy of repopulation. Depopulation by birth control has been systematically promoted in England-Wales since the 80's of the last century,—and especially since 1910.[22] Family *mores* have got acculturated to the purely economic considerations of a higher standard of living. A child has thus been treated as an alternative to an automobile or summer excursion in a foreign country.

The crude birthrate of the U.K. declined from 24·1 per 1000 inhabitants in 1911-13 to 15·5 in 1939. During the same period the crude death rate declined from 14·2 to 12·1. The crude growth rate declined, therefore, from 9·9 to 3·4.[23]

How serious the decline is can be understood somewhat more realistically from an examination of the "net reproduction rate." This would give the number of girls born to 1000 women between 15 and 50, allowance being made for female deaths between those ages.

In 1920-22 the net reproduction rate of the U.K. was 1·11. In 1935 it came down to 0·764, *i.e.*, 764 per 1000. The rate rose to 0·782 or 782 per 1000 in 1937. It is to be understood that until the net reproduction rate is 1, *i.e.*, 1000 per 1000 women of 15-50 (excluding deaths) the population cannot remain constant at the present level but bids fair to steadily go down in an absolute manner.

British statesmen cannot but feel convinced that this mischief has got to be counteracted. The United Kingdom cannot afford to

[21] *Report on the Location of Industry* (London, March 1939), pp. 194-211.

[22] B. K. Sarkar: "Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates" with nine charts (*Journal of the Indian Medical Association*, Calcutta May 1932), *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936).

[23] *Statistique Annuaire de la Société des Nations 1939-40* (Geneva, 1940), pp. 37, 38, 44, 49.

continue this system of economics and family morality. The socio-economic reconstruction will be called upon to assimilate the system of enlarged family if the British people, as the centre of an international system, chooses to compete efficiently in world-economy with the nations of 80 or 130 to 170 millions, *i e*, with regions like Germany, the U.S.A., and Russia.

The large family movement has already been the topic of discussion in the U.K. for the last four or five years.[24] But it is questionable if the seriousness of the problem has yet been brought home to the generality of the population. Anti-birth control will have to replace the birth-control morality in a totalitarian manner. Besides, it is not enough to propagate the cult of the three-children family in the place of the existing two children unit. Perhaps the four-children family should appear to be reasonable if one seriously considers the requirements of the new situation in the international *milieu*.

Like re-agrarization and de-industrialization this four-children family is undoubtedly another unpalatable recipe for the British public to swallow even in the interest of Empire development. It is worth while to recall, however, that the birth rate among the English people was never less than 30 down to 1890. Between 1871 and 1880 it was as high as 35·5. The repopulation programme for today is, then, nothing but a matter of the " will to population."

I regret that from top to bottom my analysis of post-war world-economy has been much too un-idealistic, matter-of-fact and prosaic. There is no romanticity or sentimental world-view in my figures or interpretations.

The Autarchies in Empire Development

The reconstruction of the Empire-economy as conceived in this study does not contemplate, be it repeated, an autarchy of the conventional sort, *i.e.*, exclusion of imports from foreign countries. International trade is not being banned. The autarchies contemplated here are the relative autarchies of each of the Imperial regions. Somewhat larger doses of self-sufficiency in inter-Imperial relations are

[24] R. R. Kuczynski: *Population Movements* (Oxford, 1936), D. V. Glass: *The Struggle for Population* (Oxford, 1936), G F. McLeary: *The Menace of British Depopulation* (London, 1937), T. H. Marshall ed: *The Population Problem* (London, 1938).

being recommended. It is a purely internal affair of the Empire and involves chiefly a rationalization of the British investments with regard to the diverse territories of the Empire.

A region like India, for instance, has been financially starving. This accounts for the backwardnesses and lags in India's industrial power. She is in need of much larger doses of British capital to co-operate with Indian capital than have been rendered available.

Changes in the direction of enterprise between one Imperial region and another belong to this programme. It comprises transfer of certain activities from old to new centres overseas. Not the least important items are the redistributions of finance among the diverse zones of economic life in such a manner as to ensure comparatively uniform rates of business growth and expansion. Last but not least, the place of Indian emigrants and settlers in the British Colonies and Dominions would demand an equitable reconsideration. The complete freedom of movement for Indians overseas throughout the British Empire and the right of "equal citizenship" are some of those questions on which Indians of all classes, politically minded or otherwise, are united beyond doubt.

The promotion of the fitness and power of the Imperial units to help one another effectively is the fundamental objective of the autarchy, self-sufficiency or diversified development programme for the post-war Empire-economy or inter-Imperial economic structure.[25]

[25] B. K. Sarkar : *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 137-143.

THE HARPS OF ANCIENT TAMIL-LAND AND THE TWENTY-TWO SRUTIS OF INDIAN MUSICAL THEORY

SWAMI VIPULANANDA
Editor, Prabuddha Bharata

OF all musical instruments the harp can claim the greatest antiquity. The astronomers of Mohen-jo Daro, we are told, named the constellation, Gemini, by the Tamil word meaning harp and represented it by the symbol of the harp.* Actual specimens of bow-harps dating before 3000 B. C. are said to have been unearthed at Ur of the Chaldees. In the Egyptian tombs, paintings of different kinds of harps have been observed. The Sumerians, who according to Dr. Hall, had ethnic affinities with the ancient Dravidians, knew the use of the instrument. The harp had a place of honour among the Celts. The Druids used it in their religious ceremonies. We have also evidence regarding the existence and use of this type of musical instrument in the Hellenic, the Hebraic and other civilizations

In India the bow-harp was developed in the South, in ancient Tamil-land. Instruments with 'fretted' finger-boards of the *Vina* type were developed in the North. In classical Tamil the word denoting a musical note is the same as the one denoting a harp-string. This testifies to the fact that the Pânan (wandering minstrel, professional musician) of Tamil-land used instruments which produced the seven notes of the scale on seven different strings, one note on each string. The earliest form of the bowharp was the rough and ready instrument which the cowherd fashioned for himself using a number of bows—one bow carrying each string—made out of the slender, strong and tubular branches of the *Kumila* tree. The strings used were from the fibres of another tree named *Maral*. The description of this instrument is given in *Perum-pân-âtruppadai*, a classical poem included in the collection, known as the 'Ten Idylls.' The poem is probably two thousand years old, but the tradition which it enshrines is several millenniums old.

* 'Light on the Mohen-jo Daro Riddle' by Fr. H. Heras, *New Review*, Calcutta, Vol. IV, No. 19, July, 1936.

When Agastya and his band of early Aryan settlers braved the dangers of the Vindhya forests and trekked southwards to the kingdom of the Pandyas, one of the first exploits of the sage is said to have been the defeating of Râvana, king of Lanka, in a musical contest. The sage is the reputed founder of the first Tamil Royal Academy (*Talai-Sangam*) under the patronage of the Pandyas. This institution fostered the arts and sciences known at that time. Music was one of the three main branches of study of the early academicians. The site of the first academy was 'the submerged' Madura which lay to the south of the Kumari river, near the banks of the Pahruli river. The site of these rivers and the ancient city are now covered by the waters of the Indian Ocean. Tradition records that an angry sea swept away several ranges of hills, the forty-nine countries south of Kumari along with many precious manuscripts and literary records. Subsequently a second academy (*Idai-Sangam*) was established at Kapâda-puram, 'the City of the Golden Gate'; reference to this city is to be found in Valmiki's Ramayana. Later on a third academy (*Kadai-Sangam*) was established in the present city of Madura. This probably came to a close in the second or third century A.D. According to literary tradition, the total period of duration of the three academies was over nine thousand years. A few decades ago under the patronage of the Raja of Ramnad, a fourth academy, for the promotion of the same objects, was established in Madura, hallowed by ancient associations.

The present writer's interest in the subject of ancient Tamil music began ten years ago, when he was head of the Department of Tamil Studies at the Annamalai University. He also delivered in February, 1936 a course of special lectures on ancient Tamil Culture under the auspices of the Madras University. Four of these lectures had a bearing on ancient Tamil music and were reported in the *Hindu* of Madras. Subsequently the writer had the opportunity of carrying on his studies a little further and desires to present in this paper one aspect of the subject, which might be of interest to students of the theory of Indian music. As it is well-known, the question regarding the twenty-two Srutis mentioned by Bharata and other ancient authors has been the subject of much discussion at musical conferences. Practical musicians, who are not concerned much about theories, have even passed resolutions to the effect that the twelve *Swarasthanas* (semitones) are quite sufficient for all practical purposes and that it

is needless to go into further sub-divisions of the scale. But the old masters had a use for Srutis, therefore, Srutis have to be accounted for. The theory of ancient Tamil music sheds considerable light upon this matter and may help musicians, practical as well as theoretical,—the writer, personally, belongs to the second category—to settle the question once for all.

The study of the harp, the instrument used by the Pânan of ancient Tamil-land is necessary for the understanding of the theory. The instrument was in use in Tamil-land from the earliest times down to the ninth century A.D. In the twelfth century it had become obsolete and forgotten. We have already made mention of the earliest bow-harp, 'Vil-yâzhl.' In the times of the ancient academies referred to above, two other instruments were in use, the Pêriyâzhl with twenty-one strings and the Sîriyâzhl with seven or nine strings. The names may be rendered into English as the 'Large harp' and the 'Small harp' respectively. The former was used by the Pânan and the latter by his wife, the Pâdini and also by amateurs. In the second century A.D. two more instruments were in use, the Sakôda-yâzhl with fourteen strings and the Makarayâzhl with nineteen or seventeen strings. We may render these names into English as the 'Orchestral harp' and the 'Dolphin harp.' There are full descriptions of the Large harp and the Small harp in Sangam literature; the instruments can easily be reconstructed. In the Buddhist sculptures at Amaravati (2nd century A.D.), there are two pictures of the Orchestral harp figuring in the hands of musicians, along with picture of flutes and other instruments and players forming the orchestra. Mr. F. W. Galpin in *The Legacy of India* (Oxford Press) refers to the harp as figuring in the hands of musicians on the early Buddhist sculptures as at Bhaja, Bharhut, and Sanchi (2nd century B.C.). The Dolphin harp is probably the *megyoung*, still in use in Burma. We have no means of definitely deciding the issue. *Perum-Kathai* (III-15 lines 22, 23) refers to the Makarayâzhl fashioned by Yavana artisans, thus providing the evidence that the instrument was imported from Greece. Kings of Tamil-land of the early centuries of the Christian era had Greek slaves and Greek gate-keepers and drank from jewelled golden goblets wine imported from Greece.† The Dolphin harp fashioned in Greece probably came along with the slaves and the

† Vide *Puranânûru*, 56 by Nakkirar, the Sangam poet.

wine. References to it are always found associated with references to other articles of luxury.

In our discussion we shall be forced to make frequent use of numbers. 'Numbers' in the mathematical sense have a great deal to do with 'numbers' in the musical sense; and the only way open for us to reconstruct the instruments and enter into the sweet realms of the harmonies and melodies played by the Pânan lies through the forbidding forests of mathematics. This is the apology which the writer has to offer to those readers who are interested in the art of music but have a just aversion for mathematical symbols and operations. As for the musical facts, we are only concerned with fundamental facts regarding the scale and these are the common property of all who have listened to any music, Oriental or Occidental.

Now entering into the subject, let us first take up for consideration the Large harp, the instrument with the twenty-one strings. The number of strings used is thrice seven; this shows that the ancient Pânan played on three octaves. The Sanskrit word Saptaka, 'set of seven strings' will be more accurate in this connection, for octave etymologically means 'set of eight'; Nevertheless the musical concept of the two words is the same and we, therefore, use the more familiar English word. The Pânan named the three sets of seven as *Melivu*, 'Weak,' *Saman*, 'Medial' and *Valivu* 'Strong.' We shall speak of them as the lower, the middle and the higher octaves respectively. The next question is: What was the first note on the scale used by the Pânan? It was called *Thâram* in classical Tamil. The writer has shown elsewhere (in the monthly journals of the Madura and the Karanthai Tamil Sangams) that this note can be identified with the Gandhâra note of Northern musicians. As a matter of fact, the ancient Pânan used a modified form of the Gandhâra Grâma, which Sârangadêva (1210-1247 A.D.) mentions as an obsolete Grâma. The Gandhâra note is the E note of Western music. The other notes of the Tamil scale were the *Kural*, Madhyama F, *Thuttam*, Panchama, G, *Kaikkilai*, Dhaivata, A, *Uzhai*, Nishâda, B, *Ili*, Shadja, C and *Vilari*, Rishaba, D. The ancient Pânan developed the seven notes of his instrument strictly in accordance with the harmony of quintals. The Tamil classics say that from Thâram arose Uzhai, from Uzhai Kural, from Kural Ili, from Ili Thuttam, from Thuttam Vilari and from Vilari Kaikkilai. This gives the order E

B F C G D A. Of course, the order of the strings in the instrument was E F G A B C D.

In the earliest times D and A were not discoverd and the music was pentatonic. For the sake of the 'lay' reader we may state here that 'quintal' is the Latin word meaning 'fifth' and that when musicians speak of a note and its 'fifth,' they refer to two notes separated by three intervening notes. Now in the arrangement E F G A B C D, the fifth of E is B, the fifth of B is F, the fifth of F is C, the fifth of C is G, the fifth of G is D, and the fifth of D is A. Thus we get the quintal succession E B F C G D A. The Pânan knew that the lengths of the strings in the middle octave can be obtained by doubling the corresponding strings in the higher octave or by halving the corresponding strings in the lower octave. He also knew that a string equal to two-thirds of the length of the original string gave the 'fifth.' With these simple principles he obtained the lengths of his 21 strings. We shall do likewise. In passing we may mention the fact that the ancient Pânan discovered the E note and adopted it as the fundamental tonic of the scale, for this note is said to be the natural tone of the male voice. Later on F which is said to be the natural tone of the female voice became the tonic. The ancient Tamil name of this note '*Kural*' is significant, for it means 'the voice.' Subsequently *Ili*, the C note became the tonic, this is referred to as '*Paddadai*' the resting place of all the notes. 'Shadja' its northern equivalent also conveys the same idea. Now to proceed with the calculation of the lengths of the strings, the 1st E string being 1, the 5th B string is $\frac{2}{3}$, the 9th F string is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ that is $\frac{4}{9}$, the 13th C string is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{4}{9}$ that is $\frac{8}{27}$, the 17th G string is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{8}{27}$ that is $\frac{16}{81}$, the 21st D string is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{16}{81}$ that is $\frac{32}{243}$, the 14th D string is double of $\frac{32}{243}$ that is $\frac{64}{243}$, and the 18th A string is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{64}{243}$, that is $\frac{128}{729}$. Now that we have the seven notes, there is no difficulty in doubling or halving the strings and getting them in the other octaves.

Before we collect and tabulate the above results, let us also ascertain the Sruti-positions of the 21 strings. We start with two assumptions, that the octave has 22 Srutis and the 5th 13 Srutis. As we have already seen the 5th, 9th, 13th, 17th and 21st strings are successive quintals and therefore, their Sruti-positions are 13, 26, 39, 52, and 65 respectively. The 14th string is the octave

of the 21st, its Sruti-position is therefore, 65−22=43. The 18th is the quintal of the 14th, its Sruti-position is 43+13=56. The remaining strings are all octaves of the strings already ascertained and their Sruti-positions can be found by adding or substracting 22 as the case may be. It may also be noted that the 1st string being the starting point '0' its octave the 8th string is 22 and the 15th string is 44.

In the table below, we shall give the serial numbers of the strings, their names, that is the musical notes referring to them (we shall use Capital letters throughout, for we are reserving small letters for some other purpose, as may be seen later), the ratios of the lengths of the strings to the first string, the Sruti-positions, the tuning (the reference as to the string in consonance with which the particular string was tuned; we shall not mention octaves except in one case) and also the lengths of the strings, arbitrarily assigning a length of 81 units to the first string. We choose 81 units to avoid too many fractions. The length of any particular string is obtained by multiplying 81 by the ratio pertaining to it. 'Q' stands for quintal.

Number	Name	Sruti-position	Ratio	Tuning	Length
1	E	0	1 : 1		81
2	F	4	8 : 9		72
3	G	8	64 : 81		64
4	A	12	512 : 729		$56\frac{8}{9}$
5	B	13	2 : 3	Q of 1	54
6	C	17	16 : 27		48
7	D	21	128 : 243		$42\frac{3}{3}$
8	E	22	1 : 2		$40\frac{1}{2}$
9	F	26	4 : 9	Q of 5	36
10	G	30	32 : 81		32
11	A	34	256 : 729		$28\frac{4}{9}$
12	B	35	1 : 3		27
13	C	39	8 : 27	Q of 9	24
14	D	43	64 : 243	Octave of 21	$21\frac{1}{3}$

Number	Name	Sruti-position	Ratio	Tuning	Length
15	E	44	4 : 4		$20\frac{1}{4}$
16	F	48	2 : 9		18
17	G	52	16 : 81	Q of 13	16
18	A	53	128 : 729	Q of 14	$14\frac{2}{9}$
19	B	57	1 : 6		$13\frac{1}{2}$
20	C	61	4 : 27		12
21	D	65	32 : 243	Q of 17	$10\frac{2}{3}$

The musical interval between any two strings is the same as the ratio of the lengths of the two strings. For instance, the interval between the notes G and C, both in the first octave, is 64 : 48, that is 4 : 3. The interval between the first note E and any other note is evidently the reciprocal of the ratio pertaining to the string of that note. For instance the interval between E and C is 27 : 16, between E and B is 3 : 2. The Sruti value of any note is obtained by subtracting from the number indicating the Sruti-position the number of the Sruti-position of the preceding note. Treating successive pairs of notes in this manner, we obtain the following Sruti-values and musical intervals :

	E		F		G		A		B		C		D		E
Srutis		4		4		4		1		4		4		1	
Intervals		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{256}{243}$		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{256}{243}$	

From the above we arrive at the conclusion that Sruti-values represent musical intervals and that 4 Srutis represent the Major Tone $\frac{9}{8}$ and 1 Sruti the 'Pythagorean Limma $\frac{256}{243}$.' We also arrive at the interesting fact that in the earliest *Grâma* the Sruti-values of the seven notes beginning with F were 4, 4, 4, 1, 4, 4, 1. How we arrive at the scale the notes of which are 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2, as mentioned by Bharata Nârada, Sârangadêva and others, will be seen when we consider *Grâmas* and *Mûrchanâs*.

One of the first things the ancient Pânan did with his Large harp was to try the effect of what we might call in modern terminology the modal shift of the tonic. As we stated above he tuned his instrument taking the strings successively in the order E B F C G D A. Naturally it occurred to him to try the effect of playing the eight strings from E to E, then the eight from B to B, then those from

F to F and so on. We shall first note down the Sruti-positions and the lengths of each set of eight strings, giving also the Tamil word which denotes each grouping:

Mêtsempâlai	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E
Lengths of Strings	81	72	64	$56\frac{8}{9}$	54	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$
Sruti-positions	0	4	8	12	13	17	21	22

Arum-pâlai	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B
Lengths	54	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36	32	$28\frac{4}{9}$	27
Sruti	13	17	21	22	26	30	34	35

Sem-pâlai	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F
Lengths	72	64	$56\frac{8}{9}$	54	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36
Sruti	4	8	12	13	17	21	22	26

Kôdip-pâlai	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
Lengths	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36	32	$28\frac{4}{9}$	27	24
Sruti	17	21	22	26	30	34	35	39

Padumalaip-pâlai	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Lengths	64	$56\frac{8}{9}$	54	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36	32
Sruti	8	12	13	17	21	22	26	30

Vilarip-pâlai	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D
Lengths	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36	32	$28\frac{4}{9}$	27	24	$21\frac{1}{3}$
Sruti	21	22	26	30	34	35	39	43

Sevvazhip-pâlai	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A
Lengths	$56\frac{8}{9}$	54	48	$42\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$	36	32	$28\frac{4}{9}$
Sruti	12	13	17	21	22	26	30	34

In order to standardize these results for the sake of comparison we have to perform two operations: (1) The lengths of each set of eight strings should be divided by the length of the tonic-string (the first in the set); this operation will give the ratios of the lengths of the strings compared to the tonic-string. (2) The number denoting the Sruti-position of the tonic should be subtracted from each of the other numbers in the set; this will make the Sruti-position of the tonic '0' and give the corresponding Sruti-positions of the

other strings. We tabulate below the results of these two operations, noting in each case the tonic note:

RATIOS

E	1	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{64}{81}$	$\frac{512}{729}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{16}{27}$	$\frac{128}{243}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
B	1	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{64}{81}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{16}{27}$	$\frac{128}{243}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
F	1	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{64}{81}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{16}{27}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
C	1	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{27}{32}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{16}{27}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
G	1	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{27}{32}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{81}{128}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
D	1	$\frac{243}{256}$	$\frac{27}{32}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{81}{128}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
A	1	$\frac{243}{256}$	$\frac{27}{32}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{729}{1024}$	$\frac{81}{128}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

SRUTI-POSITIONS

E	0	4	8	12	13	17	21	22
B	0	4	8	9	13	17	21	22
F	0	4	8	9	13	17	18	22
C	0	4	5	9	13	17	18	22
G	0	4	5	9	13	14	18	22
D	0	1	5	9	13	14	18	22
A	0	1	5	9	10	14	18	22

We are already familiar with the Ratios and Sruti-positions for the E-tonic. We notice that in the B-tonic one new Sruti 9 enters and is retained thereafter. Likewise in the F-tonic Sruti 18, in the C-tonic Sruti 5, in the G-tonic Sruti 14, in the D-tonic Sruti 1, and in the A-tonic Sruti 10 enter. These Srutis are successive tertians. The tertian which in plain English means 'fourth' is derived from 9 Srutis and multiples of 9 Srutis—9 being the complement of 13 in a Sruti scale of 22. The ancient Tamil authors spoke of quintal as *Kilai* 'Kinship' and tertian as *Nadpu* 'Friendship.' It may be observed that 13 counted from below is 9 counted from above and *vice versa*. The successive tertians would be 9, 18, 27, 36, 45, 54. Subtracting 22 as often as it is necessary, we get 9, 18, 5, 14, 1 and 10 as the values of the successive tertians. This is just the order in which they have appeared, one in each Pâlai until the last contains all tertians in place of quintals. Corresponding to the six tertians are the ratios $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{9}{16}$, $\frac{27}{32}$, $\frac{81}{128}$, $\frac{243}{256}$ and $\frac{729}{1024}$. The musical intervals will, of course, be the reciprocals of these numbers. We note also

that these numbers are powers of $\frac{3}{4}$ (doubled in case the note is carried from one octave to a lower octave).

Of these ratios, leaving out the last $\frac{729}{1024}$ the remaining five were spoken of as *Antarak-kôls* (inner strings) and were added to the scale, thus giving the twelve *Swarasthanas*. Without going into the 'flats' and 'sharps' of Western notation we can indicate these five new notes by the simple device of using the small letters of the alphabet to indicate the tertians. Beginning with the tonic 'E' o, its tertian is 'a' 9, its tertian 'd' 18, its tertian 'g' 5, its tertian 'c' 14, its tertian 'f' 1 and its tertian 'b' 10. The numbers, of course, indicate the Sruti-positions. Using this notation we shall wirte the seven Pâlais, having E as tonic. We shall also indicate the Pêriyâzhl strings in which they appear (it should be noted that the Pêriyâzhl has no Anatarakkôls, 'inner' strings).

PÂLAIS WITH E AS TONIC

Strings	
E-E Metsem—	E F G A B C D E
B-B Arum—	E F G a B C D E
F-F Sem—	E F G a B C d E
C-C Kodi—	E F g a B C d E
G-G Padumalai—	E F g a B c d E
D-D Vilari—	E f g a B c d E
A-A Sevvazhi—	E f g a b c d E

If the Pânan had made his first string C and produced the other notes as quintals and performed the other operations as indicated above, it is easy to see that he would have obtained the following results, probably equal in value to the Greek modes mentioned in the last column of the table:

Strings	With C as tonic	Greek modes
C-C	C D E F G A B C	Lydic
G-G	C D E f G A B C	Hypophrygic
D-D	C D E f G A b C	Phrygic
A-A	C D e f G A b C	Hypodoric
E-E	C D e f G a b C	Doric
B-B	C d e f G a b C	Mixolydic
F-F	C d e f g a b C	Hypolydic

In the Large harp there were only the main strings produced as quintals as we showed above. In the Orchestral harp five Anatarakkôls (inner strings) were added to each of the two octaves. These additional strings are the tertians which have the Sruti-values, 9,18,5,14, and 1. Although there were twenty-four strings in the instrument, it was customary to speak of it as having fourteen strings, for 'string' meant the main note. The fourteen strings were divided into four 'weak', seven 'medial', and three 'strong.' The first string could be E,B,F or C. All these four different arrangements are mentioned by ancient authorities. We tabulate them below:

Weak				Medial							Strong		
E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D
B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A
F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E
C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B

For our present purpose it is enough to confine ourselves to the first arrangement. The strings and *Antarakkôls* have the following Sruti-positions and ratios:

Srutis		Ratios	Srutis	Ratios
E	0	1 : 1	22	1 : 2
f	1	243 : 256	23	243 : 512
F	4	8 : 9	26	4 : 9
g	5	27 : 32	27	27 : 64
G	8	64 : 81	30	32 : 81
a	9	3 : 4	31	3 : 8
A	12	512 : 729	34	256 : 729
B	13	2 : 3	35	1 : 3
c	14	81 : 128	36	81 : 256
C	17	16 : 27	39	8 : 27
d	18	9 : 16	40	9 : 32
D	21	128 : 243	43	64 : 243

At this stage it is necessary for us to seek another mathematical tool in use among students of Western music. The octave is conceived as consisting of 1200 cents. The number of cents corresponding to any musical interval is obtained by taking the common logarithm

of the fraction representing the interval and multiplying it by 3986. Let us apply this rule to calculate the number of cents in the octave (interval 2), the fifth (interval $\frac{3}{2}$) and the fourth (interval $\frac{4}{3}$). From four-figure mathematical tables we obtain the following common logarithms: log 2 = ·3010, log 3 = ·4771, log 4 = ·6020. Therefore, log $\frac{3}{2}$ = log 3 − log 2, that is ·4771 − ·3010 = ·1761. log $\frac{4}{3}$ = log 4 − log 3, that is ·6020 − ·4771 = ·1249. Hence it follows that,

The octave contains ·3010 × 3986 = 1200 cents
The fifth ,, ·1761 × 3986 = 702 ,,
The fourth ,, ·1249 × 3986 = 498 ,,

We note also that 792 + 498 = 1200 cents. Because the product $\frac{4}{3} \times \frac{3}{2} = 2$. In using logarithms multiplications become additions and divisions subtractions. This greatly facilitates calculations. The ancient theorists used the concept of Srutis for indentically the same purpose. The interval 'fifth' is 13 Srutis and 'fourth' 9 Srutis. 13 + 9 = 22, which is the Sruti-value of the octave. Later on we shall formulate a simple rule for converting Srutis into cents. Now we shall proceed to calculate the cent-values of the Srutis by taking successive quintals and tertians separately. Let us begin with quintals. 13 Srutis equal 702 cents. Therefore 2 × 13 or 26 Srutis equal 2 × 702 or 1404 cents. Substracting 22 Srutis and 1200 cents, we obtain 4 Srutis equal 204 cents. 4 + 13 = 17 Srutis equal 204 + 702 = 906 cents and so on. The successive Srutis we get in thisway are 13—4—17—8—21—12—3—16—7—20—11—2—15—6—19—10—1—14—5—18—9. Their cent-values calculated as above are given in the table below. Again taking tertians, we have 9 Srutis equal 498 cents. 2 × 9 or 18 Srutis equal 2 × 498 or 996 cents. 18 + 9 − 22 = 5 Srutis equal 996 + 498 − 1200 = 294 cents and so on. The successive Srutis we get in this way are 9—18—5—14—1—10—19—6—15—2—11—20—7—16—3—12—21—8—17—4—13. The cent-values calculated as above are given in the table below. We notice that the tertians are in the reverse order of the quintals:

Srutis	Cents Quintals	Cents tertians	Srutis	Cents Quintals	Cents tertians
13	702	858	2	24	180
4	204	360	15	726	882
17	906	1062	6	228	384
8	408	564	19	930	1086

Srutis	Cents Quintals	Cents tertians	Srutis	Cents Quintals	Cents tertians
21	1110	66	10	432	588
12	612	768	1	1134	90
3	114	270	14	636	792
16	816	972	5	138	294
7	318	474	18	840	996
20	1020	1176	9	342	498
11	522	678			

In the above table the quintals should be read from 13 Srutis downwards and the tertians from 9 Srutis upwards. Each Sruti has two alternative values. Now the question is which of these values come out in practical music. That can be settled by studying the theory of the Orchestral harp, which we proceed to do.

We have already noted that of the 12 *Swarasthanas* five notes are tertians. These with their Srutis and cent-values taken from above are as follows: a—9—498, d—18—996, g—5—294, c—14—792, and f—1—90. The seven original notes with their Srutis and cent-values are as follows: E—0—0, B—13—702, F—4—204, C—17—906, G—8—408, D—21— 1110, A—12—612. Let us arrange these in order and calculate the intervals in Srutis and cents. This is done as we have already noted by subtracting from the values of any note the corresponding values of the note immediately preceding it. We shall also give the Zodiacal sign the ancient musician attached to each string beginning with Virgo for f.

Zod. Signs	Notes	Srutis	Intervals	Cents	Intervals
	E	0		0	
Virgo	f	1	1	90	90
Libra	F	4	3	204	114
Scorpio	g	5	1	294	90
Sagittarius	G	8	3	408	114
Capricornus	a	9	1	498	90
Aquarius	A	12	3	612	114
Pisces	B	13	1	702	90
Aries	c	14	1	792	90
Taurus	C	17	3	906	114
Gemini	d	18	1	996	90
Cancer	D	21	3	1110	114
Leo	E	22	1	1200	90

These intervals may be used for calculating the Srutis and cents of sets of notes (Pâlais) beginning from any note as tonic. We shall calculate the values with f and A as tonics. The results obtained will be useful to us later on in the discussion.

		f—f—Virgo			A—A—Aquarius		
Intervals	Srutis	Intervals	Cents	Intervals	Srutis	Intervals	Cents
	0		0		0		0
3	3	114	114	1	1	90	90
1	4	90	204	1	2	90	180
3	7	114	318	3	5	114	294
1	8	90	408	1	6	90	384
3	11	114	522	3	9	114	498
1	12	90	612	1	10	90	588
1	13	90	702	1	11	90	678
3	16	114	816	3	14	114	792
1	17	90	906	1	15	90	882
3	20	114	1020	3	18	114	996
1	21	90	1110	1	19	90	1086
1	22	90	1200	3	22	114	1200

The descending order of the intervals of f—f is seen to be the ascending order of the intervals of A—A and *vice-versa*. Other pairs, c—c and D—D, g—g and G—G, d—d and C—C, a—a and F—F, and E—E and B—B possess the same relationship The Pânan recognized this principle of reversibility and spoke of twelve right-handed Pâlais and twelve left-handed Pâlais. Presently we shall refer to the fact that he took successive Pâlais in the order of their harmonic succession. How he harmonized two successive Pâlais and developed orchestral music with his flutes and harps is fully explained in the *Silappadikâram* (2nd century A.D.).

We saw that in the Large harp seven modal shifts were possible. These taken in the order of the strings would be

E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E
F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F
G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A
B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B
C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D

Now in the Orchestral harp with its Antarakkôls twelve modal shifts are possible. These taken in the order of the strings would be

E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E
f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f
F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F
g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g
G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G
a	A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a
A	B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A
B	c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B
c	C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c
C	d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C
d	D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d
D	E	f	F	g	G	a	A	B	c	C	d	D

The ancient musician obtained the order of harmonic succession easily in the following manner. Let the Twelve signs be placed in the 'Zodiacal circle.' Counting from any sign the sign in 'opposition' to it is known as the 'seventh house.' The one next to it is the 'eighth house.' The Pânan obtained his quintal harmonic succession by taking successive 'eighth houses' beginning from Virgo. This gives the order Virgo, Aries, Scorpio, Gemini, Capricornus, Leo, Pisces, Libra, Taurus, Sagittarius, Cancer, and Aquarius. We tabulate the names of the signs in this order along with their Sruti-positions and the English and Tamil notes referring to them. We shall *italicize* the Antarakkôls (inner strings) to differentiate them from the main strings.

Zod. Signs	Sruti-Positions	Tam. Note	Eng. Note
Virgo	1	*Kural*	f
Aries	14	*Ili*	c
Scorpio	5	*Thuttam*	g
Gemini	18	*Vilari*	d
Capricornus ...	9	*Kaikkilai*... ...	a
Leo	22	Tharam	E
Pisces	13	Uzhai	B
Libra	4	Kural	F
Taurus	17	Ili	C
Sagittarius ...	8	Thuttam	G
Cancer	21	Vilari	D
Aquarius	12	Kaikkilai... ...	A

We note that each succeeding Sruti-position is 13 Srutis more or 9 Srutis less than the one preceding it. This testifies to their being in quintal succession.

We have already calculated above the intervals, Srutis and cents of the first and the last tonics, f-f and A-A. Likewise the values of the others can be calculated. We tabulate below the Srutis (only) of the twelve Pâlais the tonics being taken in the above order of harmonic succession:

f-f	0	3	4	7	8	11	12	13	16	17	20	21	22
c-c	0	3	4	7	8	9	12	13	16	17	20	21	22
g-g	0	3	4	7	8	9	12	13	16	17	18	21	22
d-d	0	3	4	5	8	9	12	13	16	17	18	21	22
a-a	0	3	4	5	8	9	12	13	14	17	18	21	22
E-E	0	1	4	5	8	9	12	13	14	17	18	21	22
B-B	0	1	4	5	8	9	10	13	14	17	18	21	22
F-F	0	1	4	5	8	9	10	13	14	17	18	19	22
C-C	0	1	4	5	6	9	10	13	14	17	18	19	22
G-G	0	1	4	5	6	9	10	13	14	15	18	19	22
D-D	0	1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14	15	18	19	22
A-A	0	1	2	5	6	9	10	11	14	15	18	19	22

We notice that between successive Palais there is only one differing note. In c-c tertian 9 comes, in g-g 18, in d-d 5, in a-a 14, E-E 1, in B B 10, in F-F 19, in C-C 6, in G-G 15, in D-D 2 and in A-A 11. So that A-A contains all the tertians. We thus come to the very important conclusion that the quintal Srutis which appear in f-f and the tertian Srutis which appear in A-A are the only Srutis in practice. Sruti 11, we observe, is both quintal and tertian. The cent-values of the quintals 13-4-17-8-21-12-3-16-7-20-11 and of the tertians 9-18-5-14-1-10-19-6-15-2-11 are the only values which come into the musical scale. It is useful to bear in mind the fact that all the twenty-two Srutis of the musical scale can be heard by playing the tonic followed by each of the successive notes on f-f and A-A in turn. We tabulate below the Srutis and their cent-values. At a later stage we shall refer to the construction of the 'Sruti-Vina,' an instrument in which Srutis could be played.

Tertians f-f	1	2		5	6		9	10	11		14	15		18	19	
	90	180		294	384		498	588	678		792	882		996	1086	
	114	204		318	408		522	612	702		816	906		1020	1110	
Quintals A-A	3	4		7	8		11	12	13		16	17		20	21	

We note that the cent-value of each note in the quintal is 24 more than the tertian standing above it; when the tertian replaces the quintal as it does in the Pâlais the flattenning that takes place is uniformly 24 cents. Again the cent-value of any Sruti and its complementary Sruti totals 1200 cts. For instance Sruti 8, 408 cts. Sruti 14, 792 cts. total 1200 cts. 11 tertian, 678 and 11 quintal 522, total 1200 cents. This shows that the values are perfectly symmetrical.

Again there is no incongruity in the fact that Sruti 2 has a higher value than Sruti 3, for they never come together. The tertians appear in the order of succession indicated above. 2 can come replacing 4 only after 9, 18, 5, 14, 1, 10, 19, 6 and 15 have entered replacing the respective quintals 11, 20, 7, 16, 3, 12, 21, 8 and 17. So we see that 3 has made its exit before the entry of 2. The same can be shown in the case of other seeming discrepancies.

We see that the 12 *Swarasthanas* are sufficient to produce all the Srutis. We shall presently consider the three *Grâmas* and the 21 *Mûrchanâs* and show how they can be played upon a keyboard giving *Swarasthânas*, semitones, (not equally tempered). A word about 'equal temperament,' for the sake of the reader not acquainted with it. We have seen above that of the twelve intervals in the octave, seven are of 90 cents each and five of 114 cents each. $7 \times 90 + 5 \times 114 = 1200$. In equal temperament 90 is raised by 10 and 114 decreased by 14 making all intervals 100. Purists, even in the West, do not accept this arrangement as musically satisfying. That is why an imported instrument like the harmonium, which is equally tempered, cannot be used to play classical Indian tunes. The *Vina* embodies the true natural intervals and therefore is suitable for classical music. In the key-board of the piano (correctly tuned) the Srutis of the 12 *Swarasthânas* will be distributed as shown below (We give the black notes

above and the white notes below, indicating the position they occupy; in the succeeding octave 22 will occupy the position of O.)

		1				5				9						14				18		
0				4				8				12		13				17				21

If a key-board is to be constructed showing all the Srutis how should the keys be distributed? The cent-values we obtained and the fact that quintals get replaced by tertians suggests an arrangement such as the one below. (See also the arrangement in the Sruti-Vina which is described later in this paper.)

		3				7				11						16				20		
		1				5				9						14				18		
0				4				8				12		13				17				21
				2				6				10		11				15				19

We now proceed to give the three *Gramas* (*Shadja* and *Madhyama Grâmas* of Bharata and the *Gandhara Grâma* of ancient Tamil-land), and the twenty-one *Mûrchanas* indicating in each case the tonic in which they could be played (as referred to the twelve Pâlais we developed above) and also the notes to be played, (leaving blank, notes to be omitted).

Shadja-Grâma

Mûrchanâs	Intervals						
Uttaramandra	4	3	2	4	4	3	2
Ranjani	2	4	3	2	4	4	3
Uttarâyata	3	2	4	3	2	4	4
Suddhashadja	4	3	2	4	3	2	4
Matsarikrita	4	4	3	2	4	3	2
Asvakrânta	2	4	4	3	2	4	3
Abhirudgatâ	3	2	4	4	3	2	4

c-c	0	—	4		7	—	9	—	13	—	17		20	—	22							
A-A	0	—	2	—		6		9	—	11	—	15	—	19		22						
a-a	0		3	—	5	—	9		12	—	14	—	18	—	22							
g-g	0	—	4		7	—	9	—	13		16	—	18	—	22							
f-f	0	—	4	—		8		11	—	13	—	17		20	—	22						
D-D	0	—	2	—		6	—	10		13	—	15	—	19		22						
d-d	0		3	—	5	—	9	—	13		16	—	18	—	22							

Madhyama-Grâma

Mûrchanâs	Intervals						
Samvîrî	4	3	4	2	4	3	2
Harinâsva	2	4	3	4	2	4	3
Kallopanata	3	2	4	3	4	2	4
Suddhamadhya	4	3	2	4	3	4	2
Mâdali	2	4	3	2	4	3	4
Pauraki	4	2	4	3	2	4	3
Hrishyaka	3	4	2	4	3	2	4

f-f	0	—	4	7	—	11	—	13	—	17	20	—	22
D-D	0	—	2	—	6	9	—	13	—	15	—	19	22
d-d	0	3	—	5	—	9	12	—	16	—	18	—	22
c-c	0	—	4	7	—	9	—	13	16	—	20	—	22
A-A	0	—	2	—	6	9	—	11	—	15	18	—	22
G-G	0	—	4	—	6	—	10	13	—	15	—	19	22
g-g	0	3	—	7	—	9	—	13	16	—	18	—	22

The names of the *Mûrchanâs* are taken from Nârada's *Sangîta Makaranda* ; there are slight alterations in other authors

Gândhâra-Grâma

(Ancient Tamil)

Palais	Intervals						
Sem.pâlai	4	4	1	4	4	1	4
Padumalai	4	1	4	4	1	4	4
Sevvazhi	1	4	4	1	4	4	4
Arum	4	4	1	4	4	4	1
Kôdi	4	1	4	4	4	1	4
Vilari	1	4	4	4	1	4	4
Metsem	4	4	4	1	4	4	1

F-F	0	—	4	—	8	9	—	13	—	17	18	—	22
G-G	0	—	4	5	—	9	—	13	14	—	18	—	22
A-A	0	1	—	4	—	9	10	—	14	—	13	—	22
B-B	0	—	4	—	8	9	—	13	—	17	—	21	22
C-C	0	—	4	5	—	9	—	13	—	17	18	—	22
D-D	0	1	—	5	—	9	—	13	14	—	18	—	22
E-E	0	—	4	—	8	—	12	13	—	17	—	21	22

Music is said to be a universal language. There are common elements in Eastern and Western music. The recognition of these will enable students of music to construct a bridge to traverse from one side to the other.

We have spoken above of the three *Grâmas* of Indian music, we procced to construct a *Grâma* of the major Diatonic Scale of the West and also give its seven *Mûrchanâs*. The concept of Srutis, as we have already stated, has the same function as the concept of cents. Srutis are, of course, far simpler to use. Let us try and ascertain the Sruti-values of the main recognized intervals in Western music. The octave is 22 Srutis, the double octave 44, the twelfth $22+13=35$, the fifth 13, the fourth 2, the major tone 4, the ditone 8 and the tritone 12. The semitone 114 cents is 3 Srutis. In Western music the semitone is 112 cents, remembering that there is a small difference of 2 cents, we can speak of 112 cents as 3 Srutis. This small variation of 2 cents, is noticeable in some other intervals also, we shall ignore it for the present. The minor tone of 182 cents in Western music is the same as 2 Srutis which we have shown is 180 cents. We have explained above why 2 Srutis, which is derived as a tertian is greater in magnitude than 3 Srutis, which we derived as a quintal. Likewise tertian 6 Srutis is greater than quintal 7 Srutis and tertian 15 Srutis is greater than quintal 16 Srutis. The major third (interval 5:4) has a value of 386 cents add therefore is equivalent to 6 Srutis (value 384 cents), the minor third (interval 6:5) of 316 cents is equivalent to 7 Srutis (value 318 cents). The major sixth (interval 5:3) of 884 cents is equivalent to 15 Srutis (value 882 cents), the minor sixth (interval 8:5) of 814 cents is equivalent to 16 Srutis (value 816 cents). The interval between the tonic C and the seventh note (15:8) has the value 1088 cents and is therefore equivalent to 19 Srutis (value 1086 cents). Let us tabulate these results.

Interval	Name	Cents	Srutis
2:1	Octave	1200	22
3:1	Twelfth	1902	35
4:1	Double Octave	2400	44
3:2	Fifth	702	13
4:3	Fourth	498	9
5:3	Major Sixth	884—2	15

Interval	Name	Cents	Srutis
5:4	Major Third	386—2	6
8:5	Minor Sixth	814+2	16
6:5	Minor Third	316+2	7
15:8	C to B (Seventh)	1088—2	19
10:9	Minor tone	182—2	2
16:15	Semitone	112+2	3
9:8	Major tone	204	4
81:64	Ditone	408	8
729:512	Tritone	612	12
256:243	Pythagorean Limma	90	1

The frequency ratios of the notes in the Major Diatonic Scale are

C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	2

These according to the table given above correspond to the Sruti-positions:

0 4 6 9 13 15 19 22

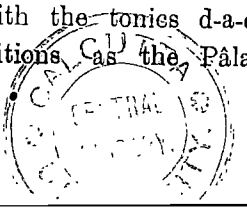
Consequently the Sruti-intervals are

4 2 3 4 2 4 3

The seven *Mûrchannâs* would therefore be

	Intervals							Sruti-positions							
C	4	2	3	4	2	4	3	0	4	6	9	13	15	19	22
D	2	3	4	2	4	3	4	0	2	5	9	11	15	18	22
E	3	4	2	4	3	4	2	0	3	7	9	13	16	20	22
F	4	2	4	3	4	2	3	0	4	6	10	13	17	19	22
G	2	4	3	4	2	3	4	0	2	6	9	13	15	18	22
A	4	3	4	2	3	4	2	0	4	7	11	13	16	20	22
B	3	4	2	3	4	2	4	0	3	7	9	12	16	18	22

In the Pânan's harp tuned to the fundamental tonic E, the above Sruti-positions occur in the Pâlais having the tonics G, A, c, C, D, f and g respectively. On the other hand let us suppose that the Pânan tuned his instrument to the fundamental tonic C, taking seven quintals and five tertians as we explained above, then he will get twelve Pâlais with the tonics d-a-e-b-f-C-G-D-A-E-B-F having the same Sruti-positions as the Pâlai's f-c-g-d-a-E-B-F-C-G-D-A



originally obtained with the fundamental tonic E. Therefore, on a harp tuned to the tonic C the seven *Mûrchanâs* of the Major Diatonic Scale will appear as follows:

E	0	—	4	—	6	9	—	13	—	15	—	19	22
F	0	—	2	5	—	9	—	11	—	15	18	—	22
a	0	3	—	7	—	9	—	13	16	—	20	—	22
A	0	—	4	—	6	—	10	13	—	17	—	19	22
B	0	—	2	—	6	9	—	13	—	15	18	—	22
d	0	—	4	7	—	11	—	13	16	—	20	—	22
e	0	3	—	7	—	9	12	—	16	—	18	—	22

Now that we have finished our brief excursion westwards into the realms of modern music let us go back to the ancient times and meet our friend the Pânan. The ancient musician tuned his instrument taking E as the fundamental tonic. His twelve *Swarasthânas* were seven quintals and five tertians. The Pânan very early realized the fact that he could tune the strings and Antarakkôls easily by beginning with f and taking eleven successive quintals ; the Antarakkôls will be tuned first in the order f-c-g-d-a and then the strings in the order E-B-F-C-G-D-A. As he used gut-strings, the notes produced by which beautifully harmonized with the human voice, he had to tune his instrument frequently. The ancient musician with his open-stringed (not fretted) instrument developed harmony. The twelve Pâlais which we considered above would show the direction in which he proceeded in developing harmony. The old texts and commentaries still extant contain sufficient data to reconstruct the system of harmony developed by the ancient musician. The subject is, of course, outside the limits we have set for this paper.

Before we conclude this brief paper on a vast subject, we shall formulate a simple rule for determining the cent-value of any Sruti. Let 'S' stand for Srutis and 'C' for cents.

If $S = m + 2n$

$C = 90m + 24n$

where $n = 0$ for Srutis 0, 1, 2

$n = 1$,, ,, 3, 4, 5, 6

$n = 2$,, ,, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (tertian)

$n = 3$,, ,, 11 (quintal), 12, 13, 14, 15

$n = 4$,, ,, 16, 17, 18, 19

and $n = 5$,, ,, 20, 21, 22

Applying this rule let us calculate the cent-value of Sruti 17, for instance:

Here $n=4$ and $S=17$

as $17=m+2n$

$n=9$

$C=90m+24n$

$=90\times9+24\times4$

$=810\quad+96$

$=906$

It may also be profitable to add something about the 2 cents which we made use of in adjusting the Western intervals with the old Tamil intervals of strict quintals and tertians and about the Western chromatic scale, which we have reason to believe, was in use before equal temperament was introduced.

The major tone on both scales is $\frac{9}{8}$
which equals 204 cents.

The Pythagorean Limma is $\frac{256}{243}$
which equals 90 cents.

Cent-values are derived from logarithms and consequently the difference of two cent-values refers to the musical interval obtained as the quotient of their respective musical intervals.

Hence $\frac{9}{8}\div\frac{256}{243}$ equals $(204-90)$ cents; that is $\frac{2187}{2048}$ equals 114 cents, which is the semitone on the Tamil Scale; $\frac{16}{15}$ equals 112 cents, the semitone on the European scale.

Hence $\frac{2187}{2048}\div\frac{16}{15}$ equals $(114-112)$ cents; that is $\frac{32805}{32768}$ equals 2 cents.

Again $\frac{3}{2}\div\frac{32805}{32768}$ equals $(702-2)$ cents; that is $\frac{16384}{10935}$ equals 700 cents, which is the 'fifth' on the European equally tempered scale.

Also $\frac{4}{3}\times\frac{32801}{32768}$ equals $(490+2)$ cents; that is $\frac{10935}{8192}$ equals 500 cents, which is the 'fourth' on the European equally tempered scale.

We shall not trouble ourselves any further about the equally tempered scale but proceed to consider the European chromatic scale of Just Intonation. This is said to divide the octave into the following thirteen intervals: 112, 92, 112, 70, 112, 92, 20, 92, 112, 70, 112, 92 and 112. By successive addition we get the following *Swarasthânas* 112, 204, 316, 386, 498, 590, 610, 702, 814, 884, 996, 1088 and 1200 cents. We have already obtained the musical intervals and Srutis relating to 112, 204, 316, 386, 498, 702, 814, 884, 1088 and 1200 cents.

We shall indicate how we can obtain the values for 590, 610, 996, cents and also of some other intervals (bearing in mind the fact that subtraction of cents involves division of musical intervals and addition of cents involves multiplication of musical intervals).

(112−90) cts. = 22 cts ; (114−22) cts. = 92 cts
(92−22) cts. = 70 cts ; (90−70) cts. = 20 cts
(702−92) cts. = 610 cts ; (498+92) cts. = 590 cts
(884+112) cts. = 996 cts ; (610−90) cts. = 520 cts
(610+70) cts. = 680 cts ; (1088−70) cts. = 1018 cts

We obtain 22 cts. $=\frac{81}{80}$; 92 cts. $=\frac{135}{128}$; 70 cts. $=\frac{25}{24}$; 20 cts. $=\frac{2048}{2025}$. The other values may be found in the adjusted musical intervals of the twenty-two Srutis, which we give below:

	Tertians			*Quintals*	
Srutis	Cents	Musical Intervals	Srutis	Cents	Musical Int.
9	498	4 :3	13	702	3 :2
18	996	16 :9	4	204	9 :8
5	294	32 :27	17	906	27 :16
14	792	128 :81	8	408	81 :64
1	90	256 :243	21	1110	243 :128
10	588+2	45 :32	12	612—2	64 :45
19	1086+2	15 :8	3	114—2	16 :15
6	384+2	5 :4	16	816—2	8 :5
15	882+2	5 :3	7	318—2	6 :5
2	180+2	10 :9	20	1020—2	9 :5
11	678+2	40 :27	11	522—2	27 :20

The ratio of the length of any string to the tonic-string is the reciprocal of the musical interval referring to it. The length of each tertian is $\frac{3}{4}$ of the one preceding it and the length of each quintal $\frac{2}{3}$ of the one preceding it. These lengths are, of course, doubled in passing from a higher to a lower octave (the musical intervals are, therefore, halved).

The adjustment of 2 cents introduces the interval 32805 :32768 which is equal to 1·0011. Consequently the error is about ·1% (one in a thousand) which is negligible.

Let us illustrate how we pass from strict quintals and tertians to the adjusted intervals by taking the case of the tertian 19 Srutis. 9 Srutis equals interval $2^2:3$, 18 Srutis $2^4:3^2$, 5 Srutis $2^5:3^3$, 14 Srutis

$2^7:3^4$, 1 Sruti $2^8:3^5$, 10 Srutis $2^{10}:3^6$, and 19 Srutis $2^{12}:3^7$. The adjustment 32805 :32768 equals $5\times3^8:2^{15}$. As the adjustment is added we multiply the ratios and get $5\times3^8\times2^{12}:2^{15}\times3^7=5\times3:2^3=15:8$.

In measuring lengths for fixing the strings (and frets) of instruments, one may proceed step by step taking three-fourths for tertians and two-thirds for quintals or make use of the ratios given in the above table. Both will lead to the same result.

A " Sruti-Vina " may be constructed with two strings tuned to the same tonic, one having frets dividing the octave into quintal Srutis, giving the Pâlai with the Zod. sign Virgo and the other having frets in the tertian Srutis giving the Pâlai with the sign Aquarius. By choosing the necessary notes in these two any of the twelve Pâlais can be produced, as all the Srutis are found in Virgo and Aquarius. We give below a diagrammatic representation of the Sruti-Vina, showing also the grouping of the notes found in the European chromatic scale of Just Intonation. Although the European scale does not conform to any of the twelve Tamil Pâlais, its beauty, symmetry and artistic possibilities become evident when we study the distribution of Srutis and musical intervals in it.

Tertians	0	1	2	5	6	9	10	11	14	15	18	19	22
	0	90	182	294	386	498	590	680	792	884	996	1088	1200
	0	112	204	316	408	520	610	702	814	906	1018	1110	1200
Quintals	0	3	4	7	8	11	12	13	16	17	20	21	22

As may be seen from the above the European chromatic scale contains the Srutis: 3, 4, 7, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 15, 18 and 19 (besides 0 and 22). In the *Murchanas* we worked out for the major Diatonic scale the following also appear: 2, 5, 11 (both tertian and quintal) 17 and 20. The Srutis which do not appear on the European scales are 1, 8, 14 and 21. The table above shows that these involve the largest fractions. Adjusting by adding or deducting 5 cents (musical interval 5120 :5103) we obtain the following values for Srutis 1, 8, 14 and 21 and their next two derivatives:

Srutis	Cents	Musical Intervals	Srutis	Cents	Musical Intervals
14	792—5	63 : 40	8	408+5	80 : 63
1	90—5	21 : 20	21	1110+5	40 : 21
10	588—5	7 : 5	12	612+5	10 : 7
19	1086—5	28 : 15	3	114+5	15 : 14

These intervals are known as "Septimals." We give a few more septimals obtained by taking away or adding 5 cents and a comma (22 cents), aggregate 27 cts, musical interval 64:63. All these can be easily obtained on a non-fretted instrument like the violin.

Srutis	Cents	Musical Intervals	Srutis	Cents	Musical Interval
9	498—27	21 : 16	13	702+27	32 : 21
18	996—27	7 : 4	4	204+27	8 : 7
5	294—27	7 : 6	17	906+27	12 : 7
14	792—27	14 : 9	8	408+27	9 : 7
1	90—27	28 : 27	21	1110+27	27 : 14

How far septimals are heard in Indian melodies is for practical musicians to decide.

Note on the transliteration of the Tamil word for harp. In order to avoide the use of diacritic marks and also to bring out the approximate phonetic value of the Tamil 15th consonant, we have transliterated it by 'zhl.' It may also be written 'l' with diacritic marks.

SOME YOGIC HYMNS FROM BULLAH BAGHAT (SAM. 1750-1825)

K. C. Bhatnagar, M.A.

BULLAH, like Kabir, was an illiterate devotee of God, born with the thirst of divine inspiration. His verse, however, is less well-known. This does not warrant the deduction that it is of a lower literary merit or that it lacks in fineness of feeling or sentiment or the daring quality of its vision. Bullah's vision of the Almighty is not tainted by the sensuous incarnation or the appreciation of the Divine form, as it is in the case of artiste-devotees like Raj Rani Mira. He is the worshipper *par excellence* of the Nirgun (Abstract) Brahman and his approach to God is very human and personal. It has the least heroic flavour about it. For such mode of worship, a great training of the soul in its intuitional aspect is required besides a supreme effort in self-denial,—for the heart is not permitted to fix on any definite, concrete shape of the Divine, even though the Impersonal, Abstract reality for which the soul is thirsting may in the last analysis, acquire a real and concrete value of the highest merit. It is like the love of an imaginary beloved by a lover, who can merge his entire self in the contemplation of the beauties of his ideal and remote beloved. The lover, here, may best be likened to the salt or the rain drop in the ocean or to the moth, who is consumed in the flame of the candle.

Bullah, in fact, is an outstanding figure in India's religious history. His intense and dazzling vision of God, has secured for him a permanent niche in the gallery of Indian saints and savants. He composed the following little hymns for the gratification of his spiritual longings and not for the sake of any fame he might achieve in the eyes of posterity. These have a rare devotional and mystic flavour, a spontaneous feeling, tone and musical cadence, which merit our careful consideration. Here is what may at best be called a free translation of some of these hymns. Even though much of the charm of the original passages is marred in the translation, the meaning-content is and will, ever, be of lasting value to the literary public.

There are many types of Yoga, into the details of which we need not at present enter. But in Bullah Baghat there is evidenced a rare

synthesis of all these types, brought about by a splendid spiritual discipline, force of conviction and personality. The Yogic technique reaches its high water mark in Bullah. There is no theoretical quibbling, no academic discussion as to the superiority of one system over the other. There is, however, one inevitable sense or consciousness of will-power controlling material environment and energy. The factors of space and time are relegated to the background of human values as in Modern Science. Organisation, according to all human standards is a non-spatial entity, yet it controls physical space, *e.g.*, in a sonata, logical argument, arts and human organisation itself. This principle of daily human life is extended into the Yogic technique in the case of Yogis like Bullah Baghat. Furthermore, harmony, theoretical truths and values are both non-spatial and non-temporal entities. They do not happen anywhere ; they simply exist. Telepathy thus, comes into its own in Modern Science. An increasing spiritual approach to problems has become necessary in all scientific problems. Free will, indeterminism, relativity of time and space have now become recognised principles of the life of electrons, etc., and have even attacked the regions of human life and consciousness in particular. Bavink, a great German Scientist, lends support to the Yogic doctrine in these words :—

" The idea of pan-psychism might also gradually develop from a mere philosophical programme into a well-founded scientific doctrine." (*Anatomy of Modern Science.*)

Bullah's real name was Bullaki Ram. He attended many religious congregations in his native place,—Burkhuda in Gazipur district. He was given to the company of religious priests. For hours, he would lie in a dream-trance as if it were, under the spell of a divine ecstasy, forgetful of his physical and human surroundings. Bullah, in his earlier life, is said to have been employed by one Gulal Sahib, Zamindar of Gazipur,—but Bullah was temperamentally unfitted for any sort of vocational career. Once he was sent to plough a plot of land for his worldly master, but his thoughts went far away to ethereal regions,—and while his master was on an inspection tour, there he lay in a dream-trance again. Gulal Sahib kicked him and he was aroused for the moment,—but his explanation was a strange one: " I was serving my self-realised masters in the other regions " as some curd flowed out of his hands: " but there was some dearth of curd for the divine feast. I am glad that deficiency has now been made up." Gulal Sahib was evidently surprised at

this strange phenomenon and instantly fell at Bullah's feet and acknowledged him as his master. According to strictly ethical standards, Bullah's conduct was a reprehensible one, but according to the unwritten law of the Creator and the devotee, such transcendental flights into the divine and ineffable regions are quite plausible in the life sketches of the long hierarchy of Indian and foreign saints and savants.

Below we give a few gems of Yoga dug out by Bullah in the spiritual region with the patience of a British speculator in the oil-fields of Baku.

समुझ मन मान्लि
जोगिया कहल संदेस
रैनि दिवस रबि सदि वहं नाहीं,
तहवां कर उपदेश ॥
जटा भभूति बैराग जोग तप,
यह तौ जोगियां न भाय ।
सुन्ननिरन्तर जोगी बोलै,
आपा उलटि समाय ॥
आपै जोगी आपै भोगी,
अपै सर्व समान ।
वा जोगिया के दरस परसपर
किया सीस कुखान ॥
स्याम पहिरि के बनो दूलह,
मिल्यो आवागौन ।
भयो प्यर में चैन,
निर्त ताथेई अैन ॥

Oh, Heart respond,
Yogi delivers the message.
Where there is no sun, no moon,
In the void of heavens,
Thou shalt encounter a divine effulgence.

* * * * *

Long curly hair, face besmeared with the sacred ashes,
Outward asceticism do not make a true Yogi.
The Yogi gets self-absorbed,
In the pin drop incessant silence
Away from this vanity fair,
Self-restraint and self-indulgence become one.
For the sight and the touch of such a Yogi
Shall I make an offering of my head.

* * * * *

The Divinity's bridegroom,
Transcends the ladder of soul's rebirth,
Attains divine peace and calm,
His Heart begins to dance to the ineffable tune.

* * * * *

The art and science of Yoga that has baffled many, becomes self-explanatory and the esoteric secrets of Divine nature lie bare before the piercing vision of Bullah Baghat. The oxygen of an all-out love and devotion to God, an abandon to divine ecstasy is all that is wanted to scale the slippery heights of the Yogic mountains.

And here is that Yogic Bliss for which many have lived and died :—

मन बैरागी हो प्रभु,
गति लखहि न कोई ॥
से कुंभक पूरक पर रखना,
रेचक संजम देई ।
भाटक ताड़ो लगलि केवाड़ी,
राम नाम जपि लेई ॥
आगे सुन्न अगम गति लोला,
निरखि ध्यान धरि देख ।
आदि ब्रह्म सदा अबिनासी,
बासो अगम अपार ।
आवै न जाय मरै नहिं जोवै,
सदा रहै इक तार ॥
अद्भुत बुंद समूह पुरुष से,
तहां रहो मन छाई ॥

संतो जोग जानै तौन ।
आपु आपु बिचारि लेवै,
सुखमना धरि पौन ।
तहँ होत है अनहद गहागह,
मिटो मन को धौन ॥
लाल पहिरि सफेद पहिरै
जरद हरिया जौन ।
स्याम पहिर के बनो दूलह
मिल्यो आवा गौन ॥

Heart, uplifted by self-abnegation,
Craves or finds little expression,
Through the three stages of Pranayam*
(Science of breath-control)
Yogi reaches the discipline of Body,
His soul lies shut up in the cell of Trikuti*
(deepest forehead seat of self-absorption)
He remembers only the Lord,
Sees only the Invisible,
Contemplates only the indescribable,
The Brahman, always immortal,
Dweller in remote regions,
Who, uniform and steady,
Fascinates the Yogi's Heart beyond redemption.

* * * * *

Saints, who aspire for Yoga,
Concentrate on self, fasting in silence,
Every second transfixed in Sukhmana*
(A secret vein, besides others, 'Ingla' 'Pingla')
Listening to the music of the Spheres,
Soothing all their troubles in the waters of life.

* * * * *

Well may one don the Red, the White, the Green,
(All flighty colours,)
But there is no fast colour like Shyam*
(generally associated with Lord Krishna)
It takes on no other colour in the world.

* * * * *

And so let us peep into the final stage of consummation, to which all the previous were sort of preparation :—

निसु दिन गगन निरेखो जाय ।
छोड दे वहु बात विषया,
मगन हवै गुन गाय ॥
तिरकुटी जहँ वसत संगम,
गंग जमुन बहाय ।
बरत झिलमिलि होत जगमग,
तहाँ रहु अरुझाय ॥
सुन्न के मनि भवन में,
तहँ ध्यान रहु ठहराय ।
खोजि ले निजु वस्तु अपनी,
सकल घटु रहु छाय ॥
तीनि लोक मे जन्म जा के,
द्वार सेवा लाय ।
जन बुल्ला कह जगम मेला
विरल जन कोई पाय ॥

Let us daily contemplate the divine firmament,
Shun, once for all, the things of Lust,
Subsist in the joy of ecstasy,
In the Trikuti, where there is a confluence,
Of Ganges and Jumna,
Where the cosmic lights are burning bright and clear,
There lie enmeshed
In the state of inertia and somnambulism,
Transfixed in thoughts.
Find out the vital essence of life,
Which sustains every mortal being.
Even though people from the three regions keep waiting
At the door,
Into such inaccessible regions let us find admittance.

* * * * * *

Much of the beauty of his verse is marred in translation, but the 'meaning content' and the technique of Bullah's synthetic Yogic vision is clear from a true intuitional appreciation of the above passages.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN LITERARY CRITICISM

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.
Calcutta University

II

TRADITION AND LITERATURE

THERE has always been in criticism a recognition, adequate or inadequate, of the artist's relationship to the thought-world of his age. The influence of the atmosphere of thought in which he lives, and of the ideals he unconsciously imbibes from his environment cannot but mould his personality and, through his personality, his artistic creations.

Criticism, however, does not generally forget the personality of the artist. The artist's interpretation must be new and original in order to be significant ; and thus his individuality gradually comes to be over-emphasised. The originality of the artist's interpretation becomes more significant than the art of its expression. In its attempts to discover what is individual, what is the peculiar essence of the man, criticism, especially of the romantic tradition, loses sight of other important aspects of literature.

Such an over-emphasis on ' originality ' or 'individuality ' has naturally led to the inevitable reaction. Critics with a sociological outlook on literature cannot accept this ultra-individualism in art ; and, as a result of their reaction, new ideas regarding tradition and its influence on literature are gradually establishing themselves in the domain of critical thought. T. S. Eliot and his group have entered a note of very strident protest against the prevailing tendency to exalt what they call the dependence on the inner voice at the expense of tra lition.

Literature, according to them, is an " organic whole " and the existing specimens of art form an ideal order—an order which might, indeed, have to adjust itself to new works of art but which nevertheless exists as a standard for evaluating the significance of individual poets and their poetry. " For order to persist after the supervention

of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered." "The past is as much changed by the present as the present is directed by the past" ; and thus a new conformity is established between them both. No individual artist can achieve his fullest significance in self-isolation from this order. "His appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists." He must be set, for purposes of contrast and comparison, among the dead. There is thus a tradition which persists from age to age— "a common inheritance and a common cause which unite artists, consciously or unconsciously," "a something outside of the artist to which he must surrender himself" in order to be significant and unique. What, at first sight, appears to be original and unique in an artist's work will, on a deeper analysis, be very often discovered as "those in which the poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously."

Mere slavish conformity to tradition cannot, however, give us the vitality of art. Blind and timid adherence to what has been defeats its own purpose. Art, thereby, loses itself in "dead cold mannerism." It must, at the same time, be admitted that the poet or the artist cannot ignore his immediate environment nor the "ideal order" of art. He must have the "historical sense." A mere vague and indefinite consciousness of the past, acting somehow in the background of the poet's mind is not adequate for artistic creation. The poet must "procure and develop such a consciousness and continue to develop it throughout his life." He must know that the past is not dead but is living in the present. He must "write not only with his own generation in his bones but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order." It is such a consciousness that can invest a work of art with significance. A work of art is not significant and valuable simply because it fits in with the tradition but the fact remains that "such a fitting in is a test of its value."

The personality of the artist might be a necessary agent in artistic creation. It might work upon the materials of human experience and create out of them an integrated pattern of beauty. When, however, experience is moulded into a work of art, when it is synthesised into artistic expression it does not, according to Eliot, include any element of personality. "The man

that suffers " has to be separated from " the mind that creates " ; else artistic creation does not attain true perfection. The man that suffers is too much under the influence of the tumult of impressions to be creative and true art involves comparative detachment from the emotions felt.

Such complete separation might not be possible but the more complete the separation, " the more perfectly will the mind digest and transmute the passions that are its materials." It is not by " personality " that the maturity of a poet's mind can be differentiated from immaturity ; but " by being a more finely perfected medium in which special, or very varied, feelings are at liberty to enter into new combinations." The older conception of the human mind as a mere ' *tabula rasa* ' to register impressions seems to be preferred by Eliot. The poet's mind loses all its power of synthesis and integration at least so far as artistic creations are concerned. It becomes " in fact a receptacle for seizing and storing up numberless feelings, phrases, images, which remain there until all particles which can unite to form a new compound are present together."

Nor is literature the expression of personality. The experience represented therein is not the same as the actual experience of the poet. Its effect on the reader is an experience different from the feeling of the artist. The emotions sought to be expressed in a work of art might be very intense but unless they are properly transmuted they fail in their purpose. It is the " intensity of the artistic process, the pressure under which the fusion takes place " that counts and not the " greatness " of the emotions. The intensity of poetry is something quite different from the intensity of the human experience which forms its basis. If these facts are taken into consideration, there is one inevitable conclusion at which a critic can arrive, *viz.*,—" The poet has not a ' personality ' to express but only a medium which is only a medium and not a personality, in which impressions and experiences combine in peculiar and unexpected ways. Impressions and experiences which are important for the man may take no place in the poetry, and those which become important in the poetry may play quite a negligible part in the man, the personality."

It is not the emotions resulting from personal experience which are of significance in poetry, but their integration into artistic expression. The attempt to discover " new human emotions to express "

has been responsible for eccentricities. The ordinary emotions of man when transmuted by art can give us the highest type of aesthetic pleasure ; and when so integrated they gather about them tones of feeling " which are not in the emotions at all." Nor is it necessary for the poet to restrict himself to feelings familiar to him. Imagination may render with truth and intensity emotions which he has never experienced in life. " 'Emotion recollected in tranquillity' is an inexact formula. For it is neither emotion, nor recollection, nor, without distortion of meaning, tranquillity. It is a concentration, and a new thing resulting from the concentration, of a very great number of experiences which to the practical and active person would not seem to be experiences at all ; it is a concentration which does not happen consciously or of deliberation. These experiences are not 'recollected' and they finally unite in an atmosphere which is 'tranquil' only in that it is a passive attending upon the event."

The emotions of art are not personal. They have to be universalised. The artist must attain impersonality if he wants to be significant. The chaos of real emotions must be fused into works of art and in the course of such fusion he has to go beyond his experiences of the present. His experiences have to be idealised, they have to be freed from the pressure of factual reality. Thus art is not mere expression of personal emotion. It is " not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion ; it is not the expression of personality but an escape from personaiity."

The influence of scientific thought on the human mind has been responsible for a facile transference of scientific concepts to other departments of life. With the growing importance of the biological sciences, the concept of an " organic whole " has been applied, and, sometimes misapplied, to sociological and psychological phenomena. It is only natural that literary criticism should come in for its share of the transference. Literature can be regarded as " an organic whole " only when *literatures* of different nations are shown to bear an organic relationship one to the other and in the absence of any such corroborative evidence the statement can have no claim for recognition.

Eliot represents all existing forms of art as forming an ideal order. The word 'ideal' in the ordinary sense of the term implies the application of some standard and it is normally differentiated

from the "real." The "ideal order" cannot, consequently, consist of *all* existing specimens of art ; for it is a curious 'ideal' which is satisfied by all existing objects. Eliot has assuredly, in the background of his mind, some standard which has to be utilised for the purpose of forming this "ideal order." He does not accept the disintegration of the modern world of thought and has been waging a crusade against the chaotic state of culture in the Western World. If there be such a standard, is it not far better to evaluate literature by reference to that standard than by reference to an 'ideal order' which has to adjust itself continually to new works of art ?

This ever-changing ideal order might be "a common inheritance and a common cause which unite artists" ; but is it "something to which an artist *must* surrender himself in order to be significant" ? Is it not, rather, the case that literature has, from age to age, been enriched by poets and writers who have revolted against tradition and introduced newer forms of literary art ? Has not its range been very often extended by artists who have gone beyond the traditional themes, emotions and ideals ? The literature of revolt is an inconvenient fact which critics of this group cannot ignore. The past, it is admitted, is "as much changed by the present as the present is directed by the past," but no such change is possible if the present conforms to the past even in the sense in which Eliot uses the word. The entire conception of a dynamic ideal order of art falls to the ground if conformity or "fitting in" be regarded as the test of the value of artistic creations.

The poet, according to Eliot, has to be conscious of his own environment ; he has also to develop a historical sense—a consciousness of the past as existing in the present. If it is suggested that the poet unconsciously develops such a consciousness, the assertion so complacently made becomes a mere truism which nobody has contested. If, however, this consciousness has to be acquired, no one except a student of history can become a poet. The statement, so interpreted, is absolutely unhistorical. Eliot should have the "historical sense" to remember that there are poets and poets of great significance who have not acquired such a consciousness and their poetry has not suffered in consequence.

It is, indeed, true that artistic creation presupposes a comparative detachment on the part of the creative artist and further that the experience of the artist as integrated and expressed in the work

of art cannot be identified with his actual experience. It is also a fact that in the process of creation many new feeling-tones are associated with such experience and there is very often a significant change of emphasis. The emotions of the poet have also to be universalised in his poetry. But these facts do not justify the view that the poet's mind is a mere "receptacle for seizing and storing up feelings, phrases and images" which remain there till they blend together "into a new compound." Such a view is against the facts of experience. Wordsworth's dictum 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' might be inexact; it, nevertheless, is based on his own experience as a poet. His description of how imagination works represents the poet's mind as an active integrating power. The experience of other poets also support this view. A theory, must explain all relevant facts of experience before it can be accepted. If in artistic creation the poet's mind remain quiescent—a mere receptacle for impressions to combine into new images—how is it that similar stimuli result in the composition of poems absolutely dissimilar? Such a theory cannot explain the difference in atmosphere and outlook between the literary creations of two poets belonging to the same environment and writing on the same theme. It does not account for the composition of poems totally dissimilar on the same theme by the same poet under the influence of different moods.

The emotions integrated and expressed in poetry may be different from those actually experienced by the poet; yet there always clings about literary productions the aroma of the artist's personality which differentiates his creations from those of others. It is the flavour of personality which adds to our aesthetic appreciation and renders literature more significant than it would, otherwise, have been. Eliot seems to have made a confusion between the individual idiosyncrasies of a poet and his real personality. He had ignored the fact that there is in the artist's personality a universal element which can and does render his emotions as impersonal as is necessary for art.[1]

It is, indeed, true that the cultural environment influences literature through tradition. Every age has its preoccupations and assumptions

[1] *Cf.* ...an escape from personality, which is an escape from emotion *is* an expression of personality. It is evident that Eliot is saying in other words what a great many people mean when they speak of an expression of personality; a fairly impersonal state of mind in which one is able to regard the emotions of one's personality objectively; but this is only a degree of introspection.

—*Spender*: *The Destructive Element*

regarding literature—certain common ideas about the subjects, materials and modes of literature. Coming into contact with these ideas, common habits and common conventions are developed—traditions which influence not only pretenders to literary fame but genuine talent as well.

Society is dynamic and changes in the social environment always involve changes in the mental outlook. What was formerly regarded as poetical becomes, with the change of mental outlook, vapid and lifeless; it loses touch with the life of the people. "The sublime" "the pathetic" "simple emotions and intuitive visions" which were very real to the poets and thinkers of the Romantic Age have now become unreal because "the stress of the adult mind has shifted." Literature when divorced from the life of the age becomes effete and, in course of time, decadent. The continuance of the romantic tradition in the later Victorian Era thus resulted in "protests of withdrawal and isolation, conscious or unconscious, from the 'iron time of doubts, disputes, distractions and fears',"—a self-isolation which later on expressed itself in theories of "Art for Art's sake" and developed into a type of literature alien to life.

By following an obsolete tradition artists are "debarred from the most valuable of their materials, the materials most significant to sensitive and adequate minds of their own age." This dissociation between literary traditions on the one hand and contemporary life and its experiences on the other has the further effect of alienating "sensitive and adequate minds" from the literature prevalent in their own age. They cannot find in literature any adequate representation of what touches their heart and engrosses their intellect. A re-orientation of literary traditions becomes necessary.

Ideals have, however, to be built up and conventions established. The chaotic mass of human experience has to be organised and integrated into a new pattern; and new modes of communicating such a pattern have to be discovered. The general masses cannot realise the significance of tendencies of thought and feeling dormant in the community; far less can they integrate them into a pattern. It is only the minority of alert minds who can understand the potentialities of their own age. Among them the artist is "at the most conscious point of the race in his time." He is the point where the growth of the national mind shows itself. His sensitive mind reacts to these dormant

tendencies; it can express in its artistic creations the foreshadowings of the future.[1]

In spite of its totally ignoring the universal aspect of literature which has an appeal transcending all differences of age and clime, this point of view gives a more reasonable account of literary traditions and their influence on the mind of the artist. Unlike Eliot it ignores neither the artist nor the traditions.

The Eliot of 1934 is different from the Eliot of earlier years. He has become more sociological in outlook. Tradition is no longer a mere "ideal order"; it has come to include "all those habitual actions, habits and customs, which represent the blood-kinship of the same people in the same place." It contains elements which are permanent and essential as well as those which are superficial and transitory. In it are inextricably bound up factors which are vitalising and beneficial and those that are injurious and "evil." It is not static and unchanging. On the contrary, it is as dynamic as society itself. "What is a healthy belief at one time may, unless it is one of the few fundamental things, be a pernicious prejudice at another."

Tradition is, however, "a way of feeling and acting which characterises a group throughout generations"; and, as such, it is more or less unconscious. It cannot by itself judge its constituent elements for less reject what is non-essential and pernicious. The human mind has to co-operate with it in doing so. Man has to discover the best that is in tradition, what is the best for its own particular stage of development. He has to judge and evaluate the past, analyse it accurately and find out "what in the past is worth preserving and what should be rejected"; inasmuch as he is a social being he has further to discover "what conditions, within our power to bring about, would foster the society we desire." This is true Orthodoxy. Tradition must be perpetually evaluated; it must he brought into close contact with the realities of the present. It must have orthodoxy to complement it and in the co-operation of both lies the reconciliation of thought and feeling; for, tradition "is of the blood rather than of the brain" while orthodoxy "calls for the exercise of all our conscious intelligence."

The lack of any strong tradition is fraught with evil consequences for literary art. It is indeed true that individual artists cannot be

[1] F. R. Leavis—New Bearings in English Poetry.

always expected to conform to any outside authority like tradition; true, that in the case of some "an indulgence of eccentricities is a condition of artistic self-expression"; true, also, that we can very well appreciate the world of beauty an artist creates inspite of our awareness of his "intellectual and moral aberrations"; yet the fact remains that in the absence of any strong tradition these individual eccentricities are liable to be carried beyond the limits of art; and tradition by its influence on the environment of the artist can restrict his "eccentricities to managable limits." Without it the artist remains "individual" indeed; but he does not achieve the universality of art.

In the absence of tradition, we very often lay upon the individuality of a writer more emphasis than it really deserves; and the result is that the literary artist, so encouraged, deliberately "gives rein to his so-called individuality." He "cultivates his differences from others." The readers also do not judge his writings with reference to their significance and worth; they appreciate him rather for his "originality." Anything which deviates from the *norm* acquires thereby a value which it does not deserve. We cherish an author of genius not in spite of his deviations from the inherited wisdom of the race but because of them.

The modern tendency of explaining literature by reference to the environment or the age to the exclusion of everything else is the result of the absence of a strong tradition to act as an integrating principle. Every age has now a new Messiah. Older generations might have had insight but as "all things are relative to their period of society" such insight is no longer regarded as adequate for the problems of the present. It has lost its vitality. Every new generation has become a new world. It must have a new gospel and a new Messiah to preach that gospel. This attitude of mind takes away much from the significance of new ideals. The messages of modern thinkers have no longer that powerful influence as such messages had before. The greatest thinker is now only one among many. His ideas and ideals, however significant they might be for suffering humanity, leave no deep impression on the mind of his contemporaries. They are, more often than not, submerged under a seething mass of common-place *nostrums*. In spite of "mass-education," the modern man has not developed that power of analysis which can discriminate between such *nostrums*. He is satisfied if he can sample different

"points of view" and takes nothing seriously. The master-minds of the past have no hold on him. They are, it is tacitly assumed, "as useless as soldiers who died in the first year of a Hundred Year's War."

Relativity has become the master-idea with our contemporaries. They cannot recognise the eternal verities of life. They have no idea of truths which transcend time and space. Every ideal, new or old, is a mere "point of view"—an interesting specimen to be stored up and occasionally exhibited rather than something to be seriously studied. Great thoughts no longer, *live* in the minds of men. They have become so many theories to be labelled, tabulated, and then forgotten.

Tradition is an external test by which literature can be evaluated. It is only by comparison with tradition that we can have an adequate idea of an author's outlook on life ; that we can judge whether his ideas have any true significance for life. In its absence, we are liable to be carried away by the charm of his personality. Views of life, though essentially false, may appear to be true when seen through the prism of the poet's consciousness. It is not, however, the artist's personality which is of importance but the character of his personality as expressed in his works. A writer must indeed be " himself " ; he must be " sincere." But this is not the whole truth about literature. A question of far greater importance is whether the "self " he expresses is socially valuable or not. " The personality which fascinates us in the works of philosophy and art, tends naturally to be the unregenerate personality, partly self-deceived and partly irresponsible, and because of its freedom, terribly limited by prejudice and self-conceit, capable of much good or great mischief according to the natural goodness or impurity of the man." Eliot's outlook has become pronouncedly sociological.[1]

His identification of tradition with the social environment of a particular community and his insistence that the "self " expressed by a writer must be "socially" valuable, show the influence of the sociological tendency of thought on his mind ; and his definition of tradition becomes more " real " by such contact. He also shows greater grasp on

[1] Even earlier, one of the speakers in the *Dialogue of Dramatic Poetry* observes : "you can never draw the line between æsthetic criticism and moral and social criticism ; you cannot draw a line between criticism and metaphysics ; you start with literary criticism, and however rigorous an æsthete you may be, you are over the frontier into something also sooner or later."

reality by recognising the fact that the tradition or the social environment of a particular age and a particular nation is a concrete unit in which are mixed up both good and evil which can be adequately evaluated by "the exercise of all our conscious intelligence." This evaluation is possible only when the personality of the thinking man is fully brought into play ; and, consequently, the Eliot of 1934 has to recognise the existence and function of "personality" both in life and in literature. He no longer speaks of absolute "surrender" to *something external*, nor of the transformation of the artist's personality into a mere *medium*. On the contrary, he admits that often "an indulgence of eccentricities is a condition of artistic self-expression" and we can "cherish an author in spite of his deviations from the inherited wisdom of the race." Tradition is now valued for its restriction of individual eccentricities to reasonable limits. It is the comparatively permanent and static background for the shifting view-points of individual writers,—a background against which the significance of their outlook is brought into relief. As opposed to his earlier standpoint, personality is expressed in literature and, it often carries the critic away by its charm. Tradition determines whether this "personality" is socially valuable or not.

Tradition according to Eliot represents the blood-kinship "of the same people living in the same place." For its purity and proper development it is necessary that there should be a homogeneity of culture and a unity of religious background. "Where two or more cultures exist in the same place they are likely either to become fiercely self-conscious or both to become adulterate." "Reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free-thinking Jews undesirable"; "a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated." Eliot seeks to evaluate thought by reference to tradition and in many of his critical essays he upholds the Roman Catholic creed as the standard by which human culture has to be judged. It might very well be asked whether the Christian tradition of his environment, —"its actions, habits and customs"—has anything corresponding to the extreme cultural nationalism of this type. Judged by this standard, the very traditions by which he seeks to judge and evaluate modern life and culture is hopelessly "adulterate." It is a composite entity of many strands derived from contacts made during the course of its development. The ideal tradition of which Eliot dreams did not exist in the past and, under normal circumstances, cannot exist

either in the present or in the future. The critic will have to search in vain for a standard by which he can evaluate the artistic creations of man.

In all his discussions regarding tradition and personality we can discern a definite reversion on Eliot's part to the old moralistic conception of literature. The poet has a message and Eliot is anxious that this message should be properly evaluated by his contemporaries. His description of the relativistic attitude of the modern man, his analysis of the superficial culture of modern society, his denunciation of the supercilious way in which every ideal is regarded as a mere view-point—they are all designed to instil into the mind of his contemporaries something of that high seriousness which can alone make life real ; and Eliot seems to value literature in so far as it can contribute to the development of a changed outlook on life. There seems to be, at least so far as this aspect of his critical theories are concerned, little recognition of the æsthetic aspect of literature. His outlook is here ethical and not æsthetic.

The crisis in the civilisation of the west has left a deep impression on Eliot's mind and in all his critical and other works the poet anxiously searches for a remedy for the ills of modern life. To renew and rebuild civilisation, to save the world from suicide—these are the ideals that he always keeps in view. He wants to base his own world of thought firmly and the church appears to him to be the most stable foundation for human life and human endeavours. The Roman Catholic tradition is the only tradition that he can accept. His critical theory is very deeply influenced by his theological outlook and often his theology warps his judgement. His criticism of Blake and Shelley is unfair because he could not sympathise with their points of view. His insistence on tradition as the supreme authority in the critical evaluation of literature, his criticism of the emphasis on unconscious inspiration in art—they are all the result of his acceptance of Roman Catholic authoritarianism as his creed. In him the theologian has triumphed over the critic.

THE CREATIVE ARTIST AND HIS AGE

RENU ROY, B.A. (CANTAB.)
Tutor, Post-Graduate English Department, Calcutta University

AS often as this subject has been discussed, so often has it given rise to bickering and invective. The topic has been much damned and yet I offer no apology for introducing it anew. The dilettante camp-followers of Literature are fast dying out as a race. In their place a more serious class of literary students are beginning to demand something far more positive and vital from Literature. This last century has been one long controversy between the "Art for Art's Sake" and the "Art for Life's Sake" school of thought. It is for us to decide what we demand from Literature, and seek our solution not in fine hair-splitting arguments, but rather in a comprehensive view of the literary heritage of the past.

During the last century and a half, the slogans of the "disinterestedness" of artists, the "independence" of scientists, "Culture and Art as independent activities of the mind" and such like, have gained greater and greater prominence and any attempt to counter the movement has been damned as an attempt at "standardisation," the "belittling of genius and inspiration," the "destruction of the individual" and what not. That such a movement should enter the literary horizon just at this period, is little to be wondered at, if we remember the high degree of isolation that entered our lives just about this time, with the rush to power of large-scale machine industry and its demand of minute specialisation. Every branch of activity began to be carried on in isolation from every other, so that, it was not remarkable at all that the artist should also begin to lose sight of the connnection between himself and the people, between himself and the various happenings both at home and abroad which surrounded him and entered imperceptibly into his general make-up.

Whether he likes it or not, all imaginative creation to which the artist gives birth, is and cannot be anything but the reflection of the real world in which the creator lives. His power of thinking, his consciousness is moulded according to his surroundings, his times, his age and his interests. These influences, "the lights, the forms, the

shapes, the breath of the winds, the scents of life, physical beauty, mental deformity, the acts, thoughts, the dreams of actual men and women "—all these form the stuff of art, and this stuff is woven out of the experience of life as the artist sees and feels it.

Yet it is depressing to see how many intellectual workers have come to regard the mass of the people of their age as incapable and undesirous of understanding their works and the people have come to regard him as an " intellectual " who has nothing to do with them and whose language they fail to understand. So " Eyeless in Gaza " or rambling with " Ulysses " many an artist follows a lonely and useless trail, wrapped up in themselves within their ivory tower. The artist blames the taste of the people, yet he fails to see that, with big business, quality has vanished from the aims of his book, business and quantity has taken its place. His cry of the " impartiality and disinterestedness " of art is but an empty vaunt. He must serve the publishers what they want, not what his genius with its independence asserts. In most cases the author himself has become a mere cipher in this great game of making publishing pay. It is but the Chesterfield letter in a new context ! So it is that this society strips of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into terms of money.

Thus imperceptibly society makes itself felt through the artist in literature. Existence and the means of existence to a primary degree conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the inspiration, the genius that determines existence, but on the contrary, social existence determines consciousness and the mode of thinking.

The next question that arises is: Do we then deny in human consciousness the spiritual factor such as artistic creation? Certainly not. While asserting that the material causes of existence does *finally* assert itself in literary effort just as it does in the social and political sphere, we do not deny that tradition, religion, philosophy can at the same time play a great part in the creation of a work of art and that any one or more of these factors may prove the determining factor as far as the form of the book is concerned.

Nor does the necessity of denying the individual arise. Man is the centre of life and society and while material forces may change Man, it is Man who changes the material forces and *in the course of doing so*

changes himself. Man at work and struggling with life, Man at once the artistic creator and the object of Art, Man in his relations with the external world—these are the worthy subjects of really great Literature.

Life is the resultant arising out of innumerable intersecting forces and infinite series of parallel currents. Each contributes to the resultant and is to that degree involved in it. So too it is with the artist whose individual will in conflict with other wills, each of which contributes something of its own, produces the final result. Thus we realise that Man has a dual history—a man with a social history and an individual with a personal history. The two are not in conflict but rather form a harmonius whole. Falstaff, Don Quixote are types no doubt, but they are types in whom the social characteristics constantly reveal the individual and in whom the personal hopes, hungers, loves, jealousies and ambitions in turn light up the social background.

The story of the individual will then, can only be satisfactorily dealt with when the artist has a steady vision of the whole background. That is the criterion of the great artist. What then of the great artists of the past ? Do they fit in with this definition of literary greatness ? Do their works pulsate with the life of their times, do they reflect their joys, their sorrows, their problems ? Within the short scope of this article I will deal only with two or three of the greatest masters of English literature, leaving the other more obvious writers (*e.g.*, Milton, Shelley) to but passing comment.

In the very beginning of our modern literature stands a poem that embodies within itself all the problems that faced the feudal order of the day. It was the period of the bitter wars waged by England under Edward III against the French, a war precipitated by the commercial rivalry arising out of the fast expanding wool trade that had already begun. The heavy expenditure incurred by this war, together with Richard II's misgovernment had laid heavy burdens on the already impoverished peasantry. The accumulation of wealth by the nobility and clergy with their accompanying corruption was a sad contrast to the terrible condition of the small farmer who was fast being ousted from his land to make way for sheep-farming. Slowly we see the rise of the middle classes and their spirit of independence gaining strength and coming into conflict with feudal privilege. It was at such a time that we hear the voice of Wycliffe, John Ball and Langland lashing out against the social inequalities of the age.

It is only when we view Langland against this background that we can fully appreciate his "Piers Plowman." He sallies out mercilessly against the lewdness, extortion, and rapacity of the clergy and more so against the incongruous wealth of the Mendicant Friars. Nor does he spare rating Richard II in his prologue. Yet while he takes up the cause of Piers Plowman, the honest toiling peasant, he has nevertheless ingrained within him the whole feudal scheme of things—society organised in a hierarchy of social duties ; an ideal reflection of the social order. His solution is to prune Holy Church of its corruption and bring it back to its original purity, while for the sovereign he prescribes reason and commonsense as a deterrent against evil. In his mind we find the germs of two utterly contradictory forces: on the one hand he wants reform without disturbing the *status quo*, on the other hand, he asserts the need of exercising the individual will of man even down to the poorest farmer with Reason and Conscience as the sole guide and vouchsafed not through any intermediate human being or even Sacrament, but only through the "self-directing soul." In this argument we see the beginning of the tug-of-war that was to begin between the whole tradition of feudal obligations, dues and in fact all that comprised the static mediaeval scheme of things and the demand for freedom and individual initiative as voiced by the rising middle class.

It is because Langland was able to reflect both the obvious and hidden changes that were being demanded by the march of time, that in spite of his obvious literary crudities he has earned for himself a lasting place in the annals of English literature.

Langland spoke for the forces moving to the Peasants' Revolt. Living about the same time and yet echoing the forces that emerged triumphant and consolidated after the Revolt, is Geoffrey Chaucer. The caustic, bitter note of the author of Piers Plowman gives way to the sunnier, more varied and fuller atmosphere of the "Canterbury Tales." They are but opposite sides of the same movement. The one echoes the anguished cry of a class struggling for recognition and social justice, the other echoes the same class triumphant, established, consolidated. In the "Canterbury Tales" Chaucer moved away from the tapestry-flatness of courtly culture to the teeming solidity of the new world of the Wyf of Bath, the Clerke, the Pardonere, the Marchante.

Let us now examine the next great period of literary history, the Elizabethan Era, whose crowning glory was the immaculate

master artist, William Shakespeare. In the Tudor period for the first time, we find the emanation of a stably centralised state, mainly based on burgess support. Throughout the period, the community of interests between Crown and burgess continued, bringing about for their mutual interest, the expropriation of land and the destruction of the feudal class which the Crown wanted for soldiers. While there still remained a chance of feudal counter-revolution, the burgesses could not afford to push their claims too far and the Crown dared not lose the support of the financially stable middle class. It was only with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, when England finally gained the superiority of the seas that the signal came for the burgesses to go boldly forward, transgressing more and more on the Crown's plan of a static hierarchy and the state-monopoly forms which clashed with the whole basis of burgess advance. With Charles I, the final break came.

Shakespeare came into the literary field at the tail end of the period of collaboration between the burgesses and the Crown. Most of his best known works coincide with the immediate post-Armada period, when there was a swelling burgess-sense of national unity and expansion. He ended in the period when the coming break between the burgess and the Crown was obvious. Shakespeare's period, of work coincided with the triumph of the free market over the static price level of mediaeval theory. 1593 saw for the first time, the Tudor crown deliberately dropping the attempts to restrict expropriation. 1594 saw " Romeo and Juliet " with its theme of the union of two individuals who claimed free choice against the feudal outlook of their families, who claimed to override free choice. In " Love's Labours Lost " he dealt with the theme of courtly love, ridiculing troubadour ethics and scholasticism. Biron, the one positive character, attacked abstract philosophy and glorified love as the active source of wisdom—not troubadour love, but love in the work-a-day world. He ends by repudiating courtly culture:

> " .....silken terms precise
> Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation...
> Henceforth my wooing mind shall be expressed
> In russet yeas and honest kersey noes."

and he routs the pedant Holofernes by the peasant fool Costard. So too in " Midsummer Night's Dream " he uses the courtly masque-form

to portray the young lovers mazed in their revolt against parental rule. In particular, the Ass-man, the clown of toil, becomes the beloved of the fairy queen who symbolises the elemental power. In "As You Like It" Shakespeare showed how he transformed the cultural inheritance of the pastoral and redefined it in terms of the new active world. He defined the desire of escape from the real world of strife but brings in Jacques to show that the dreams of a pre-mercantile world is futile. He contrasts the folk-fool Touchstone with the tormented Jacques who longs for the fool's directness but is hopelessly affected by his intellectual dilemmas. Folk elements, such as the change of clothes between the sexes, the folk-fool and Audrey, who both speak with the voice of sanity, are everywhere strong.

In all these plays the feeling for the powers of union and greater productivity—the positive sides of the burgess-triumph is predominant in Shakespeare. Yet even in this period he was aware that something was wrong. Even in "Romeo and Juliet" he at one moment identifies the blood-feud not with feudalism, but with the ethics of money:

> "There is thy gold: worst poison to men's souls
> Doing more evil in this loathsome world."...

Again in the "Merchant of Venice," while deliberately rejecting the racial theory ("Hath not a Jew hands," etc.), he builds his plot on the cleavage between the financial and productive sides of capitalism. In feudal times when the just-price theory was prevalent, it was only natural that usury was strictly forbidden by the Christian moral code. With the beginning, however, of trade for profit, not only merchandise but also money became commodities yielding wealth. With the expansion of trade and business in far-flung lands, merchants felt the need of borrowing money to start their enterprises and began to look upon usury as legitimate money-trade and not a moral evil as the Church had so long taught. This saw the beginning of a bitter quarrel between the Church and the merchants. It is this cleavage which is so brilliantly portrayed in the "Merchant of Venice."

Coming to his chronicle plays, we see him seeking themes which show the necessity of a strong state-centralisation as the only alternative to feudal anarchy. He thus omits the episode of the Magna Charta in "King John"; in "Richard II" he shows the triumph of a stronger man who can bring about the centralisation which Richard

had jeopardised. In " Henry V " he depicts him as the fully successful king, who achieves national unification, and is yet democratic and anti-feudal in his attitude.

While basing his plays on the positive and constructive elements emanating from the burgess-triumph, he was aware that all was not well within the kingdom of Denmark. He could not fail to take notice of the tavern group, of the dispossessed. So in " Henry IV and V " he created his inimitable set of parasites and low-life characters, at once showering down contempt on them in so far as they are the feudal remnants preferring a parasitical life depending on feudal patronage, yet sympathising eagerly with them in so far as they are unable to get work, and are the dispossessed under the rising wave of mercantilism. This sympathy grew direct and passionate when Shakespeare reached his full tragic stature in Lear, where he feels deeply for the " houseless poverty " of the Fool and for the " unaccommodated " man, the " poor bare forked animal " symbolised in Tom of Bedlam. It is there we hear Shakespeare's own cry of sympathy towards the unfortunate dispossessed of his day as echoed through the mouth of the mad Lear ; the now dispossessed monarch who is conscience-striken too late :

> " Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides
> Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these ? Oh, I have ta'en
> Too little care of this ! Take physic pomp,
> Expose thyself to feel what wretched feel
> That thou may shake the superflux to them
> And show the heavens more just."

Coming to the period of his tragedies, we find the contradictions of his world coming to the forefront of his plays. He was faced with the dilemma of harmonising the contradictory forces of liberty and state-centralisation, both of which were demanded as necessary preludes to burgess expansion. His attitude towards the " mob," or what in modern parlance would be termed the " Masses," was necessarily circumscribed since it was as yet a passive force. This is clearly to be seen in his " Julius Caesar " where he expresses strong dislike for the " mob " when it comes into collision with the state-

centralisation principle as another example of feudal anarchy. So his search for a solution was necessarily subjective and all he could stumble across was the blind principle of self-destruction reflected socially in greed and power-lust. His four greatest tragedies—" Hamlet," " Macbeth," " Othello," " Lear " all portray this movement of self-destruction as a result of some particular " O'er mastering passion." Then the two works, " Anthony and Cleopatra " and " Coriolanus," demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the ideas that had previously buoyed him up—happy mating and personal honour. Faced with the increasing complexity of his world these idealistic solutions seemed trite and useless. Finally in " Timon " he collapsed into sheer anarchistic fury and condemnation of money rule. It was in this very year, 1607, that the peasants all over the Midlands including Shakespeare's own Warwickshire arose and demanded the common lands, threatening the " encroaching tyrants " who " mean to grind our flesh on the whetstone of poverty."

Gradually the social cleavage expressed itself in drawing the theatre away from its mass basis towards the court circles and Shakespeare, the active protagonist of the burgess world, moved back to the court forms, using the old well-known ' lost-child ' theme of recognition with the added charm of the pastoral world in the " Winter's Tale " and the " Tempest." Faced with the inexplicable dilemmas of his world, it was natural that he should follow the path of romantic escape.

This then is the relation between Shakespeare's development and the social pressures of the day. Here again we see the master artist linking himself with the active progressiveness of the rising burgess class and sharing both its strength and weakness in his literary efforts. It is essentially the drama of *his* society and times.

And so the march goes on, Milton, Pepys, Evelyn, Bunyan, Swift, Pope, Shelley, Byron, almost every memorable name in English literature, has not escaped reflecting his times, his environment, his interests. He has voiced the special pleas of his age. But today the rift between the artist and the people, the artist and society is sapping out the vitality of our modern literary efforts. As the social injustices of our age become more apparent, a sense of pessimism, isolation and frustration afflict a great many writers such as Flaubert, Baudelaire, Hardy. As Flaubert sadly said, " Between the people and us, there is no link ; so much the worse

for them, so much the worse for us rather !" So it is that Joyce, Eliot, Huxley, Virginia Woolf follow an impotent path of word-play and sophistry. They deal with life as an accumulation of sensations and emotions, out of the haze of which they can grasp no positive message or meaning. Thus they leave the reader with a feeling of impotence, helplessly facing a complex life for which they can find no solution. And so headlong towards defeatism !

It is only when we take a dynamic view of literature, when we demand of it a message for living life richly and well, when we get from it some answer, some way out of the problems that hedge us around, it is then, and only then, that literature can have any vital meaning for us. So far for the content. A very pertinent question is often raised at this point: Is *any* writing that portrays the world in which the author lives, artistic creation ? Certainly not. There are two vital elements that go to make up really great literature: Form and Content. No writing worthy of being considered as Art can ignore either the one or the other. While on the one hand the artist must have something vital in his content so too he must pay equally great heed to fantasy, language, imagery, versification, melody and imagination,—the essentials of artistic form. The one without the other immediately robs the literary effort of life and spontaneity and makes of it an artificial, listless string of words.

Many people spurn the word "Culture" because to them it is something that ennervates Man and which he can only enjoy in ivory-tower when there are no more important things for him to do in life. Such people are not alone, for I believe some great Nazi too is reported to have said: "When I hear the word 'Culture' I put my hand on my revolver." The only difference is that the first set come to the conclusion because of the modern artists' prostitution of literary function, while to the Nazis the immense potentialities of Culture make them afraid. The one cannot see how culture is linked up with life ; the other trembles because he can see that vital connection. So exits Heine and enters Spengler !

T. S. Eliot, in his "Sacred Wood," has some very interesting things to say about cultural heritage and the modern artist. He suggests that the modern writer should write "not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a *simultaneous*

order. This is but half-truth. Literature can never be judged by static standards, for the past can have no meaning outside the present and every present has its own judgment of the past. Eliot goes on to say, " You cannot value him (the modern writer) alone ; you must set him for contrast and comparison among the dead." True we judge a poet as the part of a whole literary movement, but we do not evaluate him *only* in so far as he has been passively conditioned by past heritage. We demand a far more positive contribution from him.

The artist is not an inheritor of dead property, he synthesises both the past and the present, to create something new. He makes use of the past in order to change not only the past by his own achievement, but also the present. Culture is something we must use in order to live and not merely make it an object of aesthetic contemplation. The latter view of literature would be anaemic and narrow indeed !

MUSSU AND SUSSU

A Tale of Two Men

BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

Nym. I shall have my noble?
Pist. In cash most justly paid.
Nym. Well, then, that's the humour of 't.

SHAKESPEARE—HENRY V

Nature never makes mistakes,
What she gives here, there she takes,
Worked out to a pair equation,
By the law of compensation ;
What the sky takes from the main
Comes back to the sea again ;
What the sea takes from the land
Silts up on a farther strand ;
What the earth gives to the grass,
Clothing field, and dank morass,
That the grass gives to the sheep,
Myriad lives that crawl and creep,
Walk with lays, or, soaring fly,
In the circumambient sky ;
Sunlight gives the trembling fan
Of the tall palm all she can,
And the leaf gives back at night
What it got in broad day light

* * *

Money is not Nature's game:
Her values have another name.
What we prize, and what we hold,
Bank note, script, or minted gold,
That she values not one cent:
Chance makes this, that accident ;

What men call their fancied wealth,
Got by purchase, shares, or stealth,
That she counts all rubbish—she
Smiles at man's futile policy.
None may buy when things are cheap,
Hoard, and hug, and basely keep,
Sell when things are dear, to cheat
In hope to swell his balance sheet.
Her rule is clear, who runs may read,
Whose heart is free from pride, and greed,
Who knows there is no solid gain
That battens on another's pain—
For in man's weltering sorry strife
There is no wealth—but only life.

* * *

Mussu and Sussu were two wrights,
Who lived up to their rural lights.
They lived in villages afar
One from the other, and their star,
For good, or evil, none may know,
Had fashioned each, in heart and head,
To do what each thought best. One said
" I 'll be the greatest man on earth."
The other said, "There is no dearth
Of great men in this world to day—
All men are made of the same clay."

* * *

One made him up a bundle, and
Packed in the same a heap of sand.
The other too a bundle makes
Of saw dust, and of cowdung cakes.
Then when the village had awoke,
And huts sent up a steam and smoke,
Each set out on his journey. They
Stopped at the selfsame spot that day;
And each placed bundle on his knee,
And opened it. One said "Ah me!
I 'm hungry. But my wife—the cat—

Here's raw rice—what's the use of that? "
The other said, " I 'm luckier—I—
Some dainty viands strike my eye.
Let's swop. I 'm no whit hungry now.
A good deed still is good, I trow."

* * *

They swopped, and parted hurriedly.
Each said, " I 've done him in the eye."
And one went this way, one went that,
And each at distant cross-roads sat.
Each oped his bundle greedy-eyed,
To see what he had got inside.
One found but sand and mica flakes,
And one a heap of cowdung cakes.

[The characters in this story are entirely imaginary, and have no reference to any persons living, or dead.—B. G. S.]

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Educational Broadcast

The scope of the Educational Broadcast at the Calcutta Centre of All-India Radio is being extended as from November to include broadcasts for college students under the title "For the Universities." These are intended to give an opportunity to students to hear prominent educationists and authorities on various non-technical subjects of special interest to them. Students outside Calcutta, who hardly get any opportunity of hearing some of the renowned University Professors could avail of these broadcasts with advantage. Their duration would be fifteen minutes and the time is 7-45 p.m. (I.S.T.) on every Wednesday.

Study Centre for International Affairs

The first camp in connection with the "Study Centre for International the Affairs," started by the Bengal Government, wasopened in Calcutta at David Hare Training College by His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal. About 40 selected teachers from the mofussil attended the camp.

Addressing the teachers, the Governor said that the Centre had been opened in order to give the teachers of mofussil schools an opportunity to learn from persons, who were experts in their own subjects and had wide experience and knowledge of world affairs. Those who were attending the camp would gather sufficient data of conditions prevailing in their own country and the world outside, and would be able to compare the changes taking place here with those elsewhere, and form their own conclusions.

Outline of a Scheme for the proposed Indian Academy of Arts and Letters

Objects

1. To represent to the World of Letters, the intellectual achievement in the Indian vernacular literatures and to stand out as a representative institution of India by means of which the influence of India might be greater.

2. To make known the vernacular literatures outside their linguistic area and to encourage good writers by means of annual awards.

3. To influence the cultural unification of India and to co-ordinate the various activities of several branches of study and creative genius.

4. To encourage individual genius by awarding annual prizes to the best of literary, and artistic productions in India.

5. To foster unity and friendship among poets and artists all over India by holding conferences in which mutual expression of views and experiences should be rendered possible; and to do all that is necessary to encourage, spread and develop by all possible means the literary and artistic genius in India. The Academy should be run absolutely on non-communal and non-provincial lines. The membership of the Academy should be kept on a basis of pure merit and should be free from all personal considerations. It shall be a distinction comparable to membership in the Academies of leading western countries.

The Constitution and The Organization of the Academy

1. Branches of the Academy should be established in each province (having a recognised vernacular) and these should be co-ordinated by a Central Office of the Academy at Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay.

2. Each Provincial branch should maintain its own language and collect specimens of excellent literary and artistic productions of the year. They should be sent to the Central Office from all parts of India.

3. The Board of Award at the Centre should be run in English or Hindi; and it should assign the hall-mark of recognition to certain really meritorious works, after appraising their value and apportioning their merit. They should arrange for their translation into a common language. The awards should be made for the best work in all fields of Cultural Activity, Literature and Art.

4. The Academy should run a bi-monthy journal in English or Hindi in which contributions from writers all over India and reports of activities from all provinces should be published. The Journal should be conducted by an Editorial Board representing all provincial units and aspects of culture.

5. The Academy should undertake the publication of a Bibliography of Indian Publication, for which the Co-operation of all the Academies, Research Societies and Art-Galleries in India should be sought. This should be an annual feature, for which a handsome subsidy from the Government should be applied for.

6. The Management of the Academy should vest in an annually elected President, Vice-President and three General Secretaries assisted by an Executive Committee of a representative character. The Board of Award and The Editorial Board should be affiliated to the Central Executive Body.

7. An All-India conference should meet every year, to which delegates from all provinces should attend. The Conference should be utilized for exchange of views, discussion of important topics and problems facing the Acamemy and the Body should arrive at resolutions which should be binding on it. The President of the Conference should be duly elected by all delegates.

8. The Indian Academy should be represented in all International Conferences, by a batch of delegates, specially elected by the body.

In the initial stages, the Academy should apply to the Government and Public Bodies for funds. Liberal donations from patriotic philanthropists should also be sought.

National Education and National Architecture

In appreciating the illuminating lectures on "National Education" and "Cultural Renaissance of India" by Dr. G. C. Arundale and Srimati Rukmini Devi who have devoted much time to the regeneration of Indian Culture and Arts, Mr. Srischandra Chatterjee, *Sthapatya Visarad* observes:—

"India today, if she is to be true herself, must seek to find her own soul in *Architecture* which is the finest expression of her civilization—the true index of her aesthetic, imaginative, spiritual and constructive achievements. If there is any aspect of aesthetics which has an intensively practical value it is architecture.

Architecture is the Mother and repository of other fine arts like sculpture, painting, music and dance. It was the tree of Indian architecture which branched forth into generous and abundant flowers and foliage of Ajanta-painting and Elora-Nataraja. A great temple with its magnificent 'Nritya Mandapa,' its pillared Assembly hall and its vast corridors meant a school for the boys, a college for the scholars, a picture gallery and museum for the masses and a faithful stage for 'Bharata Natyam' and 'Nrityam.' The history of the world has several times witnessed the phenomenon that great national awakenings were characterised by the regeneration of the fine arts and literature, and there was always a revival of architecture which held all other fine arts in its embrace.

The value of architecture and its place in national life have everywhere been significant. National architecture is built out of the national life: its forms and styles are moulded by the character of the people to whom it belongs. So also is the character of the people influenced by the architectural environment they create for themselves. The students of the schools at Adyar or of the colleges of various towns in India, are bound to draw inspiration for stimulating their national character from the architectural environments they live in or move about. Our educationists and leaders may take a note of it. One finds among most of our leaders an appealing absence of well-defined ideas regarding many vital things that make our corporate life truly great and the quality of national life excellent. As a matter of fact, on account of this ignorance of the essential elements of a sound national life, public opinion in the country has practically nothing to say on most things of importance. Our leaders may not confine all their energy to political, scientific and literary pursuits merely. They may also strive for the rehabilitation of our architecture and arts in general. Instead of pleading continuously for the cause of Indian sculpture and painting, dance and music, the lovers of Indian art should also whole-heartedly combine in rescuing the *Masculine* art of *Architecture* for which a strong organisation with masculine vigour and vitality are essential. Any attempt to safe-guard the other branches of Indian Fine Arts excluding the masculine art of Architecture, will be just like killing the soul of the 'Raga Bhairava' to make room for his dependent wives as 'Todi, Asavaree and Bhairavi Raginis.'

Thinkers like Dr. Arundale and Rukmini Devi will consider the claim of Indian architecture and do their best for its rescue from threatened extinction."

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS AND INFORMATION BOARD

"If adequate facilities can be provided for mechanical and technical training either in institutions or workshops or at both places simultaneously, a very large number of boys might be diverted from general education to technical education. This lack of facilities is really responsible for creating an impression on the public mind that the students of Bengal and Assam are more keen on having a general education than technical education," thus reads the Report on the working of the Calcutta University Appointments Board for the year ended 31st May, 1941.

"The activities of the Board during the year under review were considerably restricted on account of the continuation of the War. The trade and industries of the country, on whose support the Board mainly depends, had to curtail their activities owing to War. Naturally, all this had its inevitable effect on the work of the Board. It must, however, be admitted that the War is responsible for the expansion of engineering and other allied industries which supply war materials. But as all such industries require technically trained men, the Board, which mainly deals with the students of the University, could not take much advantage of the situation. As a matter of fact, there is still a very great demand for Mechanical Engineers, Electrical Engineers, Chemical Engineers, Chargemen, Foremen, Tracers, Estimators, Draughtsmen, Electricians, etc., the number of such men turned out by educational institutions being extremely limited. The Board is even now unable to supply such men when requested to do so. In this connection, the Board considers it desirable to point out that in view of the dearth of technically qualified men, Bengal and Asaam have not been able to utilise the new opportunities created by War industries. Even if it be argued that the present demand for technically qualified men is purely temporary, it may be stated that during the post-war reconstruction period which is, likely to make India more industrialised, the demand for such men would increase. It is, therefore, time that the educational programme of the province were redrawn, so far as the technical side of it is concerned, with an eye to the future demand, so that the provinces of Bengal and Assam may make the best possible use of the opportunities."

The number of business houses co-operating with the Board at the end of the year was 200 as compared to 13 at the beginning of the first year of its work. The Board interviewed 505 candidates and registered 408 names. During this period the Board was requested to recommend candidates for as many as 153 vacancies as against 110 in the previous year. But as some of the vacancies were of technical nature the Board was not in a position to recommend names of suitable candidates. The actual number of candidates for whom the Board could secure employment or training was 105 as against 81 in 1939-40.

"During the latter part of the year the Board forwarded to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce the scheme for associating educated youngmen with Jute and Tea industries and requested the Chamber to recommend the scheme to the Indian Jute Mills Association and the Indian Tea Association, for their sympathetic consideration with such modifications as the Committee of the Chamber might suggest. The Board feels that educated young men can develop qualities essential to careers in these industries provided arrangements can be made to give them practical training under conditions similar to those obtaining in factories and theoretical instructions in night schools. It is encouraging to note that the scheme is now being considered by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in consultation with the Indian Tea Association and the Indian Jute Mills Association. If the scheme is approved by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and is supported by the Indian Tea Association and the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Board can legitimately hope that a beginning will be made in directions which are full of possibilities and which will open a new line of useful and profitable employment to the University trained young men."

In view of the importance of the Jute and Cotton industries to the province it is the opinion of the Board that if arrangements could be made by the University for teaching the subject of Textile Chemistry, a subject whose importance would be daily increasing, it would be a move in the right direction. Mention is also made to the increasing demand for technically trained men who can be employed as Engineers, Supervisors, and Technicians in the Air-Conditioning Engineering industry, an industry which has got a very great scope in a tropical country like India and the steps taken by the University for teaching Engineering subjects like Lubrication, Refrigeration and Air-Conditioning.

During the year under review a revised scheme was drawn up by the Board for reorganising the classes known as Special Tutorial Classes for giving instruction in certain subjects of different All-India Competitive Examinations. Arrangements have now been made for teaching the following subjects: Essay, English Literature, General Knowledge, British History, Indian History, Economics, Elementary Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Geography. Beeides teaching these subjects, the Board has engaged the services of an European Professor for helping the candidates in their *Viva Voce* test. These classes are

now being held between 4 to 6-30 P.M. every afternoon and the number of students to be admitted has been definitely restricted to only 20 candidates. The Board is indeed glad to note that of the candidates who took advantage of the classes held in the past years one has been employed in the Indian Civil Service and the other in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service.

It is stated in the Report that the Board had occasion to recommend candidates for Emergency Commissions in His Majesty's Indian Land Forces and the Indian Air Forces and it was indeed heartening to note that the efforts of the Board in this regard had revealed that so far as students of Bengal and Assam were concerned, they were eager to join the Military services. In connection with the Military recruitment the Report states " the climatic condition of this province is not conducive to the building up of the type of physique—noticeable in the young men of other provinces or which may be the ordinary standard of army recruitments This is no doubt a handicap to the students of Bengal and Assam. But at the same time it is worth noticing that modern army officers do not lay exclusive emphasis on physique, stamina, grit, perseverance, capacity for leadership, powers of organisation and similar other qualities are also necessary elements in the making of modern army officers. It is, therefore, desirable that the Military authorities should consider whether the standard which is ordinarily required by them in respect of physique should not be relaxed for the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The candidates should certainly be healthy, well-built and well-developed, but they may not necessarily be of the type which the Military authorities ordinarily get in the Punjab or the Frontier Province."

The Board has also advocated for the establishment of more Training Crops Units in mufassil educational centres. " Such University Training Crops Units," the Report continues, " will be the most suitable means for imparting preliminary training to officers recruited for the army. At present there is only one Training Crops Unit in Calcutta. The University has got more than 75 colleges in Bengal and Assam and many of them have got more than 1,000 students on their rolls. If Training Crops Units are attached to such mufassil colleges there is no doubt that such Units would be in a position to help the authorities in the matter of recruiting army officers."

During the year 1940-41, the Board received many enquiries from different Indian Universities regarding the nature and scope of its activities. It is also a matter for gratification that some of the Indian Universities have already established Appointments Board on the model of the Calcutta University Appointments Board. It is perhaps being daily recognised that such Boards have got a definite place in the University life.

In conclusion, it is stated " the Board desires to place on record its grateful thanks to the business community for their continued support and for providing facilities to University trained young men in obtaining employment or training in industrial, commercial and technical lines. To the various Departments of the Government of India, as well as the Indian Army Head-quarters and Indian Air Headquarters, the Board offers its sincere thanks for consulting it in connection with some of their recruitment. The help and guidance of the various Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations of the City and particularly that of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce proved very valuable to the Board in carrying out the duties entrusted to it. The Board takes this opportunity to offer its grateful thanks to all."

Miscellany

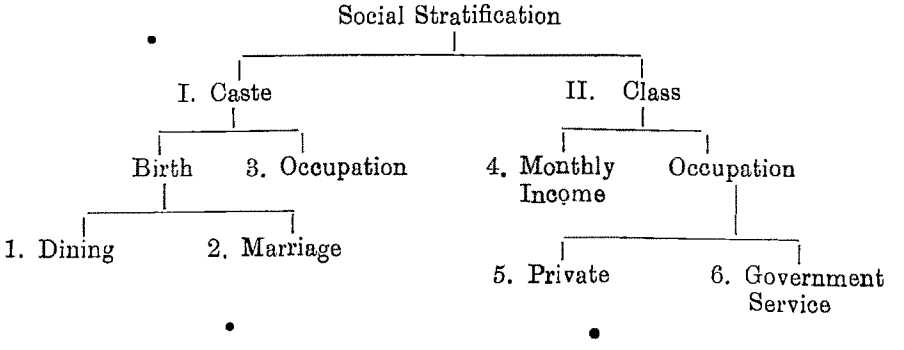
CLASSES AS INCOME-GROUPS

The emancipation from caste *mores* in birth and occupation has always been consummated in India through diverse "action patterns." This is in evidence today also. It consists in the establishment of a social stratification or group hierarchy based on other than caste principles. These principles may be described as class as distinguished from caste principles. The category, "class," is very elastic. It is often used vaguely to describe any and every group, faction, section, community or even caste, and, of course, *groupement professionnel*. There should not be any difficulty in following the concept of class as employed in the present study, because it is being precisely described at every step.

The classes are based, first, on monthly income, and secondly, on occupation. This occupation belongs to two groups: (1) private and (2) government service. Now birth implies necessarily distinction or groupification, first, in dining matters and, secondly, in marriage contacts. We can say, therefore, that social stratification is a function of six variables: (1) dining, (2) marriage, (3) caste occupation, (4) income, (5) private occupation, and (6) government service. These six variables can each lead to a number of classes and sub-classes.

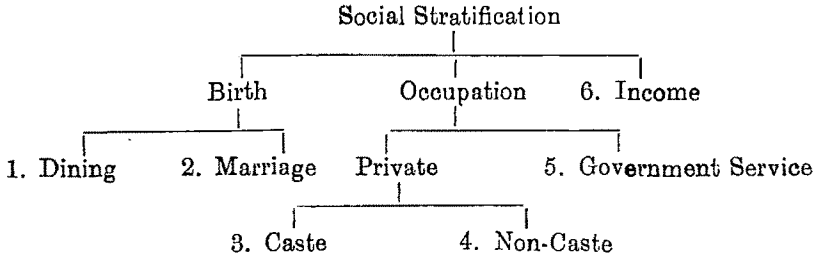
In "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" Talcott Parsons [1] makes use of the following six bases of differential valuation: (1) membership in a kinship unit, (2) personal qualities, (3) achievements, (4) possessions, (5) authority and (6) power. These six bases are as good as any other set. But there is no sense in his describing Sorokin's categories of "horizontal" and "vertical mobility" as "dangerous." Parsons is not quite right in believing that Sorokin's employment of the two-dimensional spatial analogy compels everybody to admit the "values of a single variable" or the "variation on a single quantitative continuum."

The six patterns of social stratification in India at the present moment may be exhibited in the following table:



[1] Article in the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1940, pp. 841-42, 848-49.

In the above stratification we have the category, occupation, in two or rather three places, first as a caste occupation, and secondly, as a class-occupation in two divisions. Another analysis of social strata or groups in contemporary India may be suggested, namely, the following:



In this picture the caste and the class divisions have been removed. The three main principles of stratification are (1) birth, which is equivalent to caste, (2) occupation, a part of which belongs to the caste category, and (3) income. Altogether, we have the following six bases of social groups: (1) dining, (2) marriage, (3) caste occupation, (4) non-caste occupation, (5) government service, which evidently is a part of non-caste occupation, and (6) income. Here, again, occupation occurs in three places.

The hierarchization of the social classes on income basis may be roughly exhibited in a seven-strata scheme. These seven strata are being placed in four different classes as follows:

Income Per Month	Standard	Caste Composition
	Class A. Upper Class	
I. Above Rs. 2,000	Prosperous	All Caste.
II. Between Rs. 1,000-2,000	Rich	,, ,,
	Class B. Middle Classes	
III. ,, Rs. 500-1,000	Comfortable	,, ,,
IV. ,, ,, 150-500	Decent	,, ,,
	Class C. Lower Classes	
V. ,, ,, 50-150	Tolerable	,, ,,
VI. ,, ,, 25-50	Hand to mouth	,, ,,
	Class D. Poor	
VII. Below Rs. 25	Indigent, Famished "On the bread-line" "Two-meal-a-day"	,, ,,

These four classes with the seven sub-classes or strata can all be described as classes like the six classes in the previous two schemes.

Class A comprises the upper classes in two divisions, (1) prosperous and (2) rich. Class B is that of the middle classes, likewise divisible, in standard, as (1) comfortable and (2) decent. The two standard-groups of class C (lower classes) are (1) tolerable and (2) hand-to-mouth. Class D comprises the poor with the two-meal-a-day standard.

Some other criteria of class may be seen in the ideologies of Ward (1841-1913), Sumner (1840-1910), Small (1854-1926), Giddings (1855-1931), Cooley (1864-1929), and Ross (1866) as presented by Charles Page in the fine historical and analytical publication, *Class and American Sociology* (New York, 1940).

A few words are necessary about the economics of the figures used. The incomes have been taken to be the earnings of the whole family. It is assumed, besides, that there is only one earner and that the family has five members.

In regard to the Rupee (=1s. 6d. or 0·30 cents), it is not necessary to take the exact currency equivalent of foreign countries. With reference to the purchasing power, standard of living, and social value, prevalent in the socio-economic ecology of the diverse peoples one may take the Rupee as roughly equal to the shilling in England, the dollar in America, the gold franc in France, the gold lire in Italy, or the Reichsmark in Germany. It is implied that an American commands more or less the same living and efficiency of the American pattern with 100 dollars as an Indian of the Indian pattern with Rs. 100. It would not be quite appropriate to believe that the 100 Rupee-man of India is equivalent to the 30-dollar man of the U.S.A., as the currency-parity should lead one to suspect. Nothing but pragmatic approximations is in any case being suggested.

Evidently it is not reasonable to groupify an entire population into so few as seven large income-groups. The standard of living, comfort and prosperity is bound to be very diverse among the different sub-classes of each large group. The sevenfold grouping is, however, being presented chiefly as a formal scaffolding for the concrete elucidation of inter-class relations.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE INCOME PATTERN OF INDIA

The income-pattern of India may be understood from some of the salaries paid by the Government in the different provinces. A few specimens are being given below from Bengal. No persons above the monthly Rs. 1,000 level are included. They can, in any case, be counted at fingers' ends. Salaries below Rs. 60 *p.m.* are likewise being excluded. Their name is legion. Besides, no non-Indian salary-holder belongs to the figures that are being considered.

In the *Bengal Civil List* (No. 273) published by the Government of Bengal (Calcutta, 1940), the number of deputy magistrates and deputy collectors is 235 (pp. 50-71). They may be placed according to salary in the income-groups of the present study as follows:

Monthly Salary				Number
1. Rs. 1,000	...	...	...	... 9
2. Rs. 500-850	...	...	...	... 137
3. Rs. 150-450	...	...	...	... 89
			Total	... 235

The number of subdeputy magistrates and subdeputy collectors (pp. 72-112) is 481 and their monthly salary ranges from Rs. 150 to Rs. 400. If we add the 89 deputy magistrates we get 570 persons @ Rs. 150-450, *i.e.*, below Rs. 500 *p.m.* in the "executive service" of the provincial grade,

which comprises altogether 716 (570 plus 146) members. More than 78 per cent thus earns less than Rs. 500. This service may be regarded as one of the most important in the administrative system as well as the most influential in social estimation or ranking. In this service, be it observed, there is no non-Indian.

The Registration Department (pp. 161-188) is constituted as follows:

Monthly Salary				Number of Persons
1. Rs. 150-250	...	...	...	... 241
2. Rs. 60-150	..	...	...	... 176
			Total	... 417

The Bengal Medical Service personnel and salaries (pp. 291-302) are described below:

Monthly Salary				Number of Persons
1. Rs. 500-625	...	...	...	... 16
2. Rs. 140-450	...	...	...	... 150
			Total	... 166

The Bengal Senior Educational Service has 38 posts (pp. 232-236) which can be grouped in point of income as follows:

Monthly Salary				Number
1. Rs. 1,000	...	...	...	... 7
2. Rs. 500-750	...	...	...	... 29
3. Rs. 400 450	...	...	...	... 2
			Total	... 38

The Collegiate Branch (pp. 238-250) of the Bengal Educational Service can be visualized in the following statement:

Monthly Salary				Number
1. Rs. 500-800	...	...	...	... 47
2. Rs. 150-450	...	...	...	... 57
			Total	... 104

The members of the Educational Service in the School Branch (pp.252-256) can be grouped in the following manner:

Monthly Salary				Number
1. Rs. 550-800	...	...	...	... 6
2. Rs. 150-500	...	...	...	... 42
			Total	... 48

In the three branches of the Educational Service there are 190 persons. Of these 101 (53%) are on the Rs. 150-500 grade.

It is not necessary to be exhaustive or comprehensive. These figures are enough to indicate the general level of salaries prevalent in India among Indians in Government service.

Be it noted that the non-Indian officials generally reach in six or seven years the monthly 1,000-Rupee level. The Civil List for 1940 mentions

14 foreigners in the police service on the Rs. 2,000-3,000 grade. In the civil service of the same year 28 foreigners enjoy the Rs. 3,000-4,000 income. By the twelfth year of their entering service the non-Indians are in command of monthly Rs. 2,000 as pay and allowances. About that time they are generally 37 or 38 years old. Before they are 50, the Rs. 3,000 level is already in possession or in sight. The item is important in a study of the "High-salaried Foreigner in the Indian Social Pattern."

In my study the class has been taken to be identical with the income group. It must not be overlooked, however, that the income group or class is not the only group to which a man or woman belongs. Every individual is simultaneously a formal or informal member of a large number of groups, many of which are independent of money. The personality is many-*gestaltet* and diverse-faceted. The money-facet is not the only facet in the human individuality. The plurality of patterns which every individual carries automatically in and through life enables the different groups to influence and modify one another's bearings. The angularities that a person generally possesses on account of membership in a particular group may thereby be rubbed out and polished off. The rigidities of the income-group or class, like those of the caste-group, lose, therefore, much of their sharpnesses. An individual who is materially poor can in this manner still enjoy the company of persons relatively richer because he may possess certain characteristics or memberships due to non-monetary considerations in which the moneyed individuals are perhaps rather mediocre or even poor. The existence of multiple personalities in every man or woman should always warn us against labelling an individual exclusively according to any single ticket. Money sets by all means the class of the persons, but their whole individuality is not monocratically ormonistically determined by the class, *i.e.*, money.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE POORER CLASSES IN THE SOCIAL PATTERN

The extent and depth of Indian poverty is hardly imaginable in Eur-America. Perhaps China is to be cited as India's cousin or comrade in this respect. The national income of India *per capita* may be placed somewhere between Rs. 40 and Rs. 60 or between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75 *per annum* (*i.e.* roughly between Rs. 3 and 5, or between Rs. 4 and Rs. 6 *p.m.*).[2] Let us say that the monthly national income of India *per capita is* Rs. 5.

In my rough calculations of Indian national income which, however, are not ready or finished enough for publication the figure should be set somewhat higher than the usual one. It may be placed somewhere between Rs. 75 and Rs. 90 per head per year. But for the purpose of the present study I am suggesting an arbitrary figure, namely, Rs. 60, which may more or less correspond to the usually accepted low figures.

As a rule, Indian economists are used to the conception that poverty has been increasing in India. It is the general tendency to set the national

[2] B. K. Sarkar : *Comparative Pedagogics in Relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 86-91. See also Shah and Khambatta : *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India* (Bombay, 1924), p. 201. For international figures see W. Woytinsky : *Welt in Zahlen*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1925), p. 161.

income at a rather low figure. In my way of looking at things it is not possible to demonstrate that poverty has been increasing. The few economic indices that are available and dependable demonstrate that Indian wealth has been increasing. The absolute increase is not large, nor is the rate of increase high. But the increase of wealth and income is a statistical reality. The bearings of this question on population problems are obvious and have been discussed in my *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1937).

In countries like India, China and Russia a very large percentage of the population, especially in the rural areas, is used to the "natural economy" or "barter economy." Markets, market-economy, buying and selling, marketing, etc., in the modern economic sense are hardly known to many families and for many transactions of daily life. The use of money as medium of exchange is greatly restricted in such circles. It is not possible to give the exact figures about the magnitude of such non-money and non-currency economies prevailing in the huge sub-continent of 400 millions. But the prevalence of natural economy and barter economy among large sections of the people in the villages is extensive. It is important enough to suggest that prices, price-statistics, price-indices are to that extent of no significance in regard to the appraisal of Indian economic conditions. Consequently the calculation or estimate of the national income of the people per head in terms of money becomes somewhat meaningless. This is a great consideration about the difficulties automatically involved in the interpretation of every figure in money,—high, medium or low,—that may be suggested as the national annual income *per capita*. To these are to be added the general difficulties involved in the estimate of money income in all other countries which arise from the fact that price-fluctuations affect different classes of consumers in different ways and that these fluctuations are frequent.

Another picture of poverty can be obtained from the position of income-tax returns.[3] In all the provinces of India during 1938-39 the number of assessees for income-tax was 285,940 out of a total population of 353 millions. The minimum annual income taxed was Rs. 2,000, *i.e.*, say, Rs. 150 *p.m.* This means that not more than 0·08% of the total population enjoyed the monthly income of Rs. 150. Roughly speaking, we may say that only 300,000 persons earn this amount. A certain number of evasions has of course to be considered in addition.

Perhaps it ought to be mentioned that on Rs. 5 per month a human being can just get a plate of rice and *dal* (pulse, lentil, grain, etc.) twice a day. On that basis it may not be entirely impossible to live in Indian conditions. The rice and *dal* meal would correspond roughly to the bread and soup of Eur-America.

In this connection attention may be drawn to the five Appendices (II-VI) in a Government of Bengal publication, entitled the *Problem of Rural Reconstruction Work*, by A. C. Chatterji, Director of Public Health (Calcutta, 1938). These appendices contain five sample menus of "balanced diet," all non-vegetarian. The most expensive menu is that at Rs. 5 per head per month Two specimens are priced at Rs. 3 each. It would thus appear that the monthly expenditure of Rs. 3-5 can keep a person's body and soul together in India according to the principles of "balanced diet." Data like these should enable the economic experts of the world to feel

3 *All-India Income-Tax Report and Returns*, 1938-39 (Delhi, 1940), p. 1.

how fallacious they can be in their arguments when they proceed to compare the industrial, cultural or political efficiency of nations on the strength of monetary wage-rates or income-levels.

Groups V, VI, and VII of the above schedule, *i.e.*, the tolerable, the hand-to-mouth, and the poor classes on-the-bread-line lie outside the income-tax paying citizens and companies. The number of income-tax payers is almost negligible, as we have seen.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CLASS DISTINCTIONS IN INDIA

The class distinctions are to be envisaged in three fields. First come the distinctions between those who are in a position to pay income-tax (Groups I-IV) and those who are not. The second set of distinctions is to be seen in the relations between four groups of the income-tax payers divided as they are between Classes A and B. Finally, the entire D Class *vis-a-vis* the three Classes C, B, and A has to be envisaged in the study of interhuman relations.

The industrial workingmen are roughly speaking, 5,000,000 in number. As a result of sundry calculations from diverse factory rates the Indian industrial worker has been described in my *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics*,[4] " as something like a 20-Rupee man," on the average. All the workingmen may be placed in Class D (Poor). Certain individuals among them have their place certainly in Group VI, nay, Group V. But those exceptions are being ignored for the present study.

It will be noticed that the family of 5, each with Rs. 5 as monthly *per capita* income, has Rs. 25 as the total income. The entire Class D (Poor), as suggested in the schedule, comprises, therefore, the hundreds of millions of the average national standard. The working classes,—each family having one earner,—belong to the lowest, *i.e.*, the bread-line class.

The intellectuals, as a rule, belong to class C (lower classes), *i.e.*, Groups VI and V (maximum Rs. 150). Some of them are in Group IV (maximum Rs. 500). Just a few throughout India rise up to the 1000-level (Group III maximum). Those who are the highest in Class B (middle classes, maximum Rs. 1,000) are generally treated by the Class A people as outside their class. They themselves do not feel comfortable among the Class A people and are conscious that they do not belong there. Their ideology,—economic and social,—is chiefly orientated to their neighbours below, namely, Group IV (150-500).

The psychology as well as the sociology of the poor demand special investigations from the viewpoint of interhuman relations. On the basis of Indian data the study has not been started in earnest as yet. The industrial working classes have not likewise been the subjects of scientific social research. The interhuman relations of cultivating classes also are hardly familiar to the world of science. The soul of the proletariat, industrial as well as agricultural, remains almost undiscovered, so to say, in India.

In the sociology of values Group VI (Rs. 25-50) is of profound importance. It comprises not only cultivators, richer farmers, and industrial workers but also office clerks, schoolmasters (in Matriculation and lower

[4] Calcutta, 1936, pp. 17, 41.

schools), lawyers, medical practitioners, journalists, authors, musicians, artists, and other intellectuals or brain workers. These are the groups,—living from hand to mouth as they do,—that furnish a large number of the most spiritually creative individuals. Some of the epoch-making patriots, social servants, and martyrs for an ideal come out of these groups. The coincidences that are often found between the zone of creativity and the zone of poverty have reference to this 25-50-Rupee group. It is mainly about this class that I think when I describe the " poor as world-conquerors," for instance, in " The Sociology of the Poor and the Pariah " (*Man in India*, Ranchi, September, 1940). These remarks apply to a certain extent also to the numerous persons in Class D (below Rs. 25) and to the 50-150-Rupee group (class C.V.).

Those intellectuals who have taken up the cause of industrial workers and patronize the trade unions with leadership are perhaps very often more interested in their own careers than in their *protégés*. Most probably many of them are looking for a political constituency on the strength of which they can appear before the public as the representatives of somebody or of some interest. Workingmen serve them with the stick which they can brandish in the press and on the platform and therefore stand on many occasions the chance of being exploited rather than served.

The services rendered by intellectuals to the trade unions and the industrial workers in general must not be cynically ignored, however. In the " Great Society " that has been established by the industrial revolution, to use a category of the British sociologist, Graham Wallas, the workingmen do by all means require help from a bunch of seasoned experts in the political game, at any rate, for a certain period. In the struggle for the vindication of rights the industrial workers cannot possibly do without the co-operation of intellectuals as guides. The transitional stage is bound to be that of workingmen as second fiddles to the *intelligentsia*. The British labour experience of the second quarter of the nineteenth century may be aptly recalled in this connection.

In India the abject poverty of the millions goes hand in hand with the extraordinary prosperity of a few. Monthly incomes to the tune of Rs. 10,000-15,000 are not considered as anything unusual among successful lawyers and even medical practitioners. Such individuals may not be plentiful as blackberries, but they are quite a few in number in all the cosmopolises of India. Then the new industrial-capitalistic bourgeoisie can count a decent number of millionaires among their Group I. Finally, there are the representatives of the old landed bourgeoisie, *viz.*, the *latifundi* or the *zamindari*[5] aristocracy, who in spite of their decrepitude in certain regions can still stand up to the *nouveaux riches* in some measure.

In Government services,— so far as one province, Bengal, is concerned,—there are nearly two dozen Indians on the Rs. 2,000-3,000 grade. The number of Indian officials drawing Rs. 3,000-4,000 may be about a dozen or so. Some ten Indians draw Rs. 4,000 *p.m.* The social significance of this class or rather these few individuals ought to be carefully discussed in the study of inter-human relations.

In class patterns the discrepancy between the richest and the poorest of India is perhaps the greatest in the world. The measure of distance between prosperity and poverty as embodied in the Indian class-system can hardly be paralleled anywhere else in the two hemispheres. This is an

[5] P. K. Mukherjee : *The Economic Services of the Zamindars as analyzed by Benoy Sarkar* (Calcutta, 1934).

extreme statement but perhaps approaches the truth in considerable proportions. The subject deserves an intensive sociological analysis with statistical evidences.

With the exception of the, roughly speaking, 300,000 persons and offices everybody in India is earning less than Rs. 150 *p. m.* This statement does not describe the exact position. We should rather say that, since the average monthly income per head is somewhere between Rs. 4 and Rs. 6, or roughly speaking, Rs. 5 only, virtually every man, woman and child in a population of 400 millions lives from hand to mouth. The standard of living of the entire country may be described as just that of two meals a day. The nation may be said to be existing "on the bread-line."

None but the 300,000 persons or offices can, humanly speaking, have any interest in law and politics, banking or world-affairs. The worst calamities, natural or social, cannot mean anything to those hundreds of millions outside this 300,000-group. Evidently their psycho-social *Gestalt* is orientated to the fact that, no matter what happens, they cannot possibly go below the poverty line, *i.e.*, the "two-meal-a-day" level of existence. Neither the feelings, sentiments and emotions nor the interests of these nearly 400 millions can be especially attached to any economico-political regime. To them no regime can possibly be worse, situated as they are on the very last and lowest *niveau*. It is only the 300,000 persons or offices that can have their interests centred in the *status quo*.

These are the most fundamental considerations applicable to the class-configuration and class-psychology of the Indian people. A social pattern like this, distributed more or less uniformly as it is in the rural and urban areas, is eminently adapted to changes, transformations and revolutions. It is mainly because of such socio-economic *Gestalt* that Russia does not perish even under famines and China can continue her militant attitudes for decades. It is the poor, the standardless, the two-meal-a-day, the poverty-line nations that cannot be frightened by any set of untoward or unexpected circumstances.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS *vs.* CASTE-CONSCIOUSNESS

A more or less rigid and watertight social stratification is suggested in the above scheme.

But at the outset it is proper to visualize a social flexibility and mobility. These seven income-groups comprise persons of diverse birth (caste) groups as well as ocupational (caste and non-caste) groups. They comprise, besides, the "gainfully employed" of all denominations, private as well as in Government service. Thus considered, this classification renders the "action patterns" and "plurality patterns" independent of the six bases discussed at the outset. Social elasticity of some significance is a fact.

But the rigidity consists in the fact that, no matter what be the occupation of the birth group, the 50-150-Rupee persons constitute more or less the same interhuman complex. In most of the day-to-day functions they may be said to belong together. Their social atmosphere or climate is more or less identical. Their outings, clubbings, parties,

at-homes, literary *camaraderies* and so forth are confined to the same circle. In regard to *la table* (dining) item of the caste patterns there is hardly any *tabu* in this class, especially among the male members. This may be considered to be an aspect of liberalization. Not all the women of the persons of this group are as yet ripe enough for interdining. A few may be. But so far as *le lit*, *i.e.*, the marriage item in caste grouping is concerned, the 50-150-Rupee group is not yet liberal enough for freedom in mating. The monetary equality has not succeeded in breaking the caste *acharas* and introducing caste-equalization. Intermarriage between members of different castes, although of the same income-group, is still almost inconceivable as a proposition. This is an item hardly understandable in Eur-America.

The income-group has a rigidity of its own in regard to marriage. For, it is as a rule within the same income-group that members of each caste try to look for their mates. A 2,500-Rupee lawyer cannot, as we have seen, think of having a matrimonial alliance with a 2,500-Rupee engineer if they belong to two different castes. But a 2,500-Rupee lawyer would avoid matrimonial alliance with a 100-Rupee lawyer even if both happen to be members of the same caste. In this item India is at one with Eur-America.

The social stratification, from the standpoint of marriage, is still governed by the caste pattern. But it is subject to the class-considerations dictated by money. This class-rigidity is perhaps as profound as the caste-rigidity. Exceptions and modifications are of course not unknown and quite conceivable.

The class-rigidities as mentioned above are to be noticed in regard to every income-group. The chances for members of different income-groups having matrimonial alliances, although within the same caste, are few and far between Inter-class marriages may be forced by extraordinary circumstances such as would be treated as tragic by the higher group persons. But humanly speaking, such tragic events are happening, and the water-tight class-compartments are always being broken to-day as they were broken in ancient and medieval times.

Class-consciousness is a powerful social reality. It would be wrong to suggest that the caste-consciousness is so influential as to obliterate the distinction between rich and poor. Caste-determinism is not the exclusive force in the marriage pattern. Class-determinism is a no less active force. This class-determinism cannot be attributed exclusively to the modern, industrialized, urban conditions. Its rôle was in evidence in pre-industrial and pre-capitalistic epochs as well. The science of social processes and patterns requires to be orientated to the fact that the caste polity has not been democratic, socialistic or spiritualized enough to bring about marital unions between persons of diverse incomes as a more or less general proposition. The distinction between the economically high and low is one of the axiomatic items within the same caste-group.

The class is not to be taken as a clear-cut and closed association. It is not similar to a gild, or a caste, or a modern trade union of industrial workers. Nor is it like a definitely organized and legally constituted political party. In the class as a social configuration is to be seen a loose conglomeration of individuals or families who, chiefly because of the same income level, tend to have a more or less identical standard of living and share some common conceptions of comfort,

culture, efficiency, etc. This does not necessarily induce or imply common views on religion.

The class thus conceived is by no means a category of the Marxist fount. It is not an organization with a dogmatic ideology, economic, political or cultural. Nor is the hereditary element a characteristic mark of the class; but it must not be entirely ignored, as a factor. In the case of caste the dominant *differentium* is birth, in that of class, it is income. Class-consciousness is nothing but a vague feeling about a certain economic position and standard of living due to association with or command over a particular income.

Income being the only criterion of class, the class distinctions are no less agrarian-feudalistic than industrial-capitalistic. The ancient and medieval times know the class distinctions no less definitely than the modern. And for all ages and regions the class distinctions are no less rural than urban.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Indian Constitutional Tangle.—By Jamil-Ud-Din Ahmad, B.A. Hons., M.A. (Alig.), Lecturer, Muslim University, Aligarh. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1941. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-4.

Mr. Ahmad's attempt to examine the Indian situation with particular reference to the work of Mr. Jinnah as the formulator of the Muslim demand provides him with an opportunity in these pages to bring under survey the parts played by the Muslim League, the Congress and the British Government in endeavouring to reach an understanding on the subject of a future constitution for India after the outbreak of the War. Mr. Ahmad writes lucidly and has evidently mastered the facts of the case he is handling. His bias against the Congress and the Hindus, however, does not let him write in that impartial spirit which would have made an analysis of the several viewpoints helpful and welcome. It seems from the pages of his book that there is absolute unanimity among the ninety million Muslims in India about their political goal: "the ninety million Muslims of India are clear in their mind that the only solution of the Indian problem and their ultimate salvation lies in the creation of independent sovereign states in the north-west and the north-east of India."

Mr. Ahmad asserts that "the Muslim League...is the only organization that can speak on behalf of Muslim India." But can he convince us that the League represents the four-and-half crores of Momins, as also the Shiahs, the Ahrars, etc. ? He characterizes the Muslim members of the Congress Cabinets which resigned shortly after the war broke out, as people "who had deserted their own parties from motives of self-aggrandizement." Mr. Ahmad probably believes that they were returned on the League ticket. It is time that he should correct the mistake. In a country where the Muslims scarcely constitute a fourth of the total population, the League demand which Mr. Ahmad as a staunch member of the League Council stubbornly upholds is that "they are not going to accept the position of a mere numerical minority." The words of Lord Samuel give the position better than anything else we can remember: "...the present policy of His Majesty's Government leads to the conclusion that the final decision is left with the Moslems, that would mean one-fourth of the population of India is to decide the future of India rather than three-fourths."

Mr. Ahmad speaks of the "nefarious designs" of the Congress in reducing the Muslims and other minorities to the position of helpless serfs, "the sinister designs of the Hindu majority" concealed by the word 'independence,' "the nefarious game of establishing Hindu domination over the whole country," "the mean and mendacious propaganda" of the Congress, etc. This shows that Mr. Ahmad has made violent passion, prejudice and narrow communal sentiment do duty for reason, justice and a broad view of men and things. Mr. Ahmad does not leave any room for honest difference of opinion. He tries to strengthen his cause by lessons from Indian history. His brief excursion into the field shows him that there are no data for an Indian nation in history, nor for a common culture and civilisation. We know that in such a state of mind we can get whatever we want from any source that we may like to draw upon. It is

needless to point out that the bonds of unity are not even now completely swept away under the stress of the League philosophy. Mr. Jinnah is himself reported to have observed as late as 1932 that the Hindu-Muslim question was introduced by the conveners of the R.T.C. to sidetrack the fundamental issue and was "exaggerated in England by various interested parties." (Call It Politics ?, by Atulananda Chakrabarti, p. 16.)

Mr. Ahmad's book loses its value by being pure League propaganda. The assaults on the Congress which he makes are not new. The old saying, unity is strength may be swamped by the prevalence of separatism for a time but let us hope, wisdom will not be lost to us for all time to come.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Call It Politics ?—By Atulananda Chakrabarti. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd., 3, Esplanade East, Calcutta, 1941. Price Re. 1.

In this little brochure of some eighty pages Mr. Chakrabarti has gone behind the scenes as it were and tried to paint the true causes of the communal differences which render the union of the two major communities in making a joint demand for independence appear to be almost impossible of achievement. Mr. Chakrabarti has gone back to the genesis of the Muslim League and has shown, quoting the words of Seikh Reza Husain Khan that "It is not the Muslims but their official masters who were opposed to the Congress." Mr. Chakrabarti has endeavoured to present the Indian Problem not in his own words but in those of leading Indians and Britishers and has in this way lent a good deal of weight to the inferences which we find ourselves driven to accept. The most eminent Muslims including the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal have declared that forces of division were let loose in India in the wake of the policy that governs India.

Mr. Chakrabarti has shown very clearly with the help of excerpts from speeches, letters, etc., of distiguished British officials how the policy changed from anti-Muslim to pro-Muslim. The light which this sheds upon the present situation in India between the two major communities is necessary to understand the problem and also to work for its solution. The recent talk about the two nations in India is sheer propaganda. Berriedale Keith has said with ample reason: "The unity of British India must be asserted against the determination of Muslim leaders to dismember the country and produce chaos."

We have no difficulty in accepting the conclusion of Mr. Chakrabarti: "The fundamental truth is that man to man is brother. Let us take our stand on it, and all questions—Hindu *v.* Muslim, India *v.* Britain—are solved." Some may condemn the conclusion as too facile and require a point of view that may be serviceable in the field of practical politics. In that case we may state that the little book which we are reviewing contains the practical guidance which a worker will need and demonstrate, the broad-minded attitude without which we are apt to rush into narrow and selfish strifes for aggrandizing our own communities at the expense of others.

The booklet will prove immensely helpful to sincere students of Indian politics who want to find out the true state of things in this country.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Shakespeare Criticism.—By C. Narayana Menon. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

This book provides a wholesome corrective to dogmatic Shakespearean criticism. Even the greatest work of Art, it is strange to reflect, cannot escape the dread hands of the theorist who would separate flowers from roots, cut up segments for quotation and finally fix the meaning of excellence under laudatory but funereal labels. Shakespeare, fortunately for the Westerner, can be heard, and not only read, by large audiences so that professional criticism which mercilessly clings to most editions of Shakespeare can be escaped. But in India we are helpless, fixed ideas are stamped on our heads through text-books and we cease to regard Shakespeare as an adventurous companion capable of limitless surprise. This is not a tirade against commentaries which do help us if moderately indulged in, but a plea for new ideas.

Professor Menon views Shakespeare from a slightly new angle and justifies his feeling that "the kernel of every Shakespearean play—tragedy, comedy, or history—is the potential in us." His aim, therefore, has been to make us establish an intimate, experiential bond with Shakespeare, and to expose the great dramas to ideas emergent in our Age. Proper evaluation of this book would need more space than is possible here, but we must not fail to point out that behind Professor Menon's exposition lies sound critical equipment, and learning sustained by deep appreciation. The author has included useful Notes and a fine Bibliography.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

Indian Education, June, 1941: Vol. I, No. 1. Edited by S. C. Mitra, M.A. (Cal.), D.Phil. (Leip.).

Indian Education is the bi-annual organ of the Indian Association for Educational Research, a body which has recently been formed with the avowed object of pomoting and co-ordinating educational research in this country. If the first issue of the Journal is an earnest beginning of what is to follow we can unhesitatingly predict a bright future for it. In addition to several experimental studies in education which naturally form one of the important sections of the journal, there are synopses of important articles culled from both foreign and Indian periodicals devoted to education. But the most important feature of the journal is its Forum in which a co-operative effort has been made by some of our well-known educational workers to formulate our educational problems and suggest possible solutions. The editor promises that in every issue of the journal one special problem arising out of the actual educational situation will be singled out and different educational authorities will be asked to express their views and opinions about it. Education today forms one of the most frequently discussed topics and even people who never crossed the portals of a university or have had anything to do with an organised school freely contribute to these discussions with the aim of an expert. It is, therefore, heartening to know the views of those who by their academic and professional attainments are best fitted to discuss our manifold problems of education. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the President rightly observes in his illuminating foreword that "very often proposals for educational reforms are made in a light-hearted fashion without due regard to our national requirements" and we share with him the hope that Indian Education will "help considerably in opening out a new era of education destined to serve the highest interest of our country."

THE HON'BLE MR. P. N. BANERJEE, M.A , B L.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Minister in charge of Revenue, Judicial and Legislative
Government of Bengal.

Ourselves

[*I. The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.—II. The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Banerjee.—III. Indian Philosophical Congress.—IV. The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for 1940.—V. The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for 1940.—VI. A New Fellow of the University.—VII. The Jagattarini Medal for 1941.—VIII. The Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1941.—IX. The Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectureship (in Science) for 1941.—X Report on Teachers' Training Examination, July, 1941.—XI. The Indian Political Science Association. XII. Lectures on Kerala Culture.—XIII. Brindaban College, Habiganj—XIV. The University Convocation for 1942—XV. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer for 1942.—XVI. Election of Ordinary Fellows.—XVII. Bequest of the Late Mr. R. O. Raha, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.—XVIII. The Late Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha.—XIX. New Honours for Sir M. Azizul Huque.—XX. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari Medal for 1941.—XXI. All-India Conference of University Teachers of English.—XXII. The Silver Jubilee of the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.—XXIII. The Beereshur Medal for 1942.—XXIV. The Basanta Gold Medal for 1942.—XXV. The Jubilee Research Prize in Science for 1941.—XXVI. The Late Mr. K. C. Mookerjee.—XXVII. The Late Shamsul-Ulema Maulana Hidayet Hussain.—XXVIII. The Late Dr. D. N. Mallik.*]

I. The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee

We have particular pleasure in announcing the appointment of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee as Finance Member of the Bengal Cabinet. The appointment has led to universal satisfaction. It is hoped that his valuable co-operation as Minister would ensure the cause of good government in the Province.

We offer our respectful congratulations to the Hon'ble the Finance Minister and hope and pray that this journal over whose affairs he has presided for many years would still continue to enjoy his support.

* * *

II. The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Banerjee

The appointment of Mr. P. N. Banerjee as a Minister of the Bengal Cabinet in charge of Revenue, Judicial and Legislative has been an extremely popular one. Mr. Banerjee has been our esteemed colleague on the Board of this journal for many years, during a part of which time he had acted as Editor of the *Review*.

We offer our respectful congratulations to the Hon'ble Minister and hope that he would continue to take an interest in the welfare of this journal.

III. Indian Philosophical Congress

The Indian Philosophical Congress met at Aligarh on the 20th December for a three days' session. Delegates of this University attended the Congress.

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IV. The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for 1940

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for the year 1940 has been awarded to Mr. Patakikrishna Chatterjee, M.Sc., and Mr. Santiranjan Palit, M.Sc. The former submitted a thesis entitled "On the Charnockite Series of Khurda, Puri District, Orissa, and other Papers," the latter's thesis being "Some Physico-Chemical Studies of Resin Solutions."

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V. The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for 1940

This Studentship has been awarded to Mr. Anilchanda Banerjee, M.A., who submitted a thesis on "Peshwa Madhav Rao" and Mr. Pareshchandra Dasgupta, M.A., whose thesis was on the subject of "Fiscal Policy in relation to the Industrial Enterprise in India."

* * *

VI. A New Fellow of the University

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (Central), to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Nawabzada A. S. M. Latifur Rahman, whose term of office as an Ordinary Fellow came to an end on the 3rd September, 1941.

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VII. The Jagattarini Medal for 1941

The Jagattarini Medal for the year 1941 will be awarded to Sreemati Mankumari Basu, in recognition of her original contributions to Bengali letters represented by such works as the following:—*Kavya-Kusumanjali*, *Birkumar-Badh*, etc.

VIII. The Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1941

The Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for the year 1941 will be awarded to Sreemati Anurupa Devi, in recognition of her original contributions made to Bengali letters consisting of works like the following:—*Mantrasakti, Poshyaputra, Ma,* etc.

* * *

IX. The Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectureship (in Science) for 1941

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been appointed to the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectureship for the year 1941. He will deliver a course of lectures on " The Physics of Metals."

* * *

X. Report on Teachers' Training Examination, July, 1941

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 299, of whom 1 was absent and 1 was expelled. 274 candidates passed, 96 of the successful candidates obtaining Distinction. The percentage of pass is 92·3. The percentage of pass in 1940 was 87·5.

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XI. The Indian Political Science Association

The 4th session of the Indian Political Science Conference was held in Bombay at the end of December, 1941. The University sent its representatives to attend the Conference.

* * *

XII. Lectures on Kerala Culture

Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A., of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, will deliver a course of three lectures under the auspices of this University on " Kerala Culture " sometime this year.

XIII. Brindaban College, Habiganj

The above college has been affiliated to this University in English and Political Economy and Political Science to the B.A. Honours Standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42.

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XIV. The University Convocation for 1942

The Annual Convocation of this University will be held at 9-30 A.M. on Saturday, the 28th February, 1942.

* * *

XV. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer for 1942

Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), has been appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer in Comparative Religion for the year 1942. Dr. Das is a Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Philosophy in this University.

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XVI. Election of Ordinary Fellows

The following Ordinary Fellows of the University elected by the Registered Graduates and by the different Faculties will vacate their seats on the dates mentioned against their names. The Registered Graduates will elect two Ordinary Fellows from among themselves on the 30th January, 1942, and the Faculties of Science, Law, and Engineering, one Fellow each on the 20th January, 1942:—

Elected by Registered Graduates

	Date of retirement
Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.	6th April, 1942
Sasikanta Chakrabarti, Esq., B.E.	6th April, 1942

Elected by the Faculty of Science

Prof. Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A.	13th February, 1942

Elected by the Faculty of Law

Manmathanath Ray, Esq, M.A., B.L., M.L.A.	2nd March, 1942

Elected by the Faculty of Engineering

Prabhatnath Banerjee Esq., M.A., M.I.E.	2nd March, 1942

XVII. Bequest of the Late Mr. R. O. Raha, M.A., Barrister-at-Law

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, in a letter addressed to the University, conveyed the sum of Rs. 25,997-6-9, being the amount left to his care by the last will and testament of the late Mr. R. O. Raha, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, who was the University Inspector of Hostels and Messes during 1933-39. Mr. Raha desired that the sum be made over to Dr. Mookerjee for safe investment with a view to creating an endowment in the University for the award of a Scholarship every three years of the value of Rs. 75 a month to deserving students of Bengali parentage for the promotion of practical studies intimately connected with the training for national defence. This Scholarship, according to the donor's intention, is to be styled after his father, the late Dr. Kamalkrishna Raha. The purpose of the Scholarship should be one or other of the following, or at least as closely related to these as may be possible—(*a*) Practical Aeronautics, (*b*) Practical Submarine Training, (*c*) Practical Military Training, (*d*) Training in up-to-date Rural Reconstruction and Handicrafts—and for assisting students, who may have completed their training, to maintain themselves for a year if they have set up their own enterprise.

In his letter Dr. Mookerjee recommended that a compassionate pension of Rs. 60 a month for life may be granted to Mr. Raha's sister Dr. Jessie Griffiths.

The University has accepted the bequest with thanks and has appointed a Committee to draw up rules for the Scholarship. A compassionate allowance of Rs. 60 a month has been granted for life to Dr. Jessie Griffiths.

* * *

XVIII. The Late Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha

The Syndicate, at their meeting of the 11th November, 1941, placed on record their deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., former Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, who was connected with this University as the "Kamala Lecturer" in 1926 and in various other capacities for a very long time. They

recalled in this connexion the valuable services rendered by him as Editor of " Manu Smriti " published by this University under his able guidance, and they resolved that their deepest sympathy be conveyed to the members of his family at their bereavement.

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XIX. New Honours for Sir M. Azizul Huque

His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to confer the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor in his *ex-officio* capacity so that his successor to the Vice-Chancellorship will also be entitled to the rank automatically.

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Sir M. Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., has been appointed High Commissioner in the United Kingdom for India with effect from March, 1942.

We tender our respectful congratulations to Sir M. Azizul Huque on the new honours conferred on him.

* * *

XX. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari Medal for 1941

The Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari Medal for the year 1941 has been awarded to Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Nobel Laureate, who has signified his acceptance of the same with thanks.

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XXI. All-India Conference of University Teachers of English

The second session of the above Conference was held at Lahore on the 19th, 20th and 21st December, 1941.

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XXII. The Silver Jubilee of the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta

Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), represented this University at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, held in December, 1941.

XXIII. The Beereshur Medal for 1942

The following subject has been selected for the above Medal:—
Effects of War on Indian Industries.

* * *

XXIV. The Basanta Gold Medal for 1942

The following subject has been selected for the above Medal :—
Epidemic Diseases in Bengal.

* * *

XXV. The Jubilee Research Prize in Science for 1941

The Jubilee Research Prize in Science for the year 1941 has been awarded to Mr. Chandrasekhar Ghosh, M.Sc., whose thesis entitled "*Standardisation of Illumination*" was approved by his examiners for the purpose.

* * *

XXVI. The Late Mr. K. C. Mookerjee

Mr. K. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, passed away after a long illness at his Calcutta residence on the 5th December, 1941. Mr. Mookerjee was about 46 years of age at the time of his death.

Mr. Mookerjee joined the Post-Graduate Department of our University as a Lecturer in Philosophy in 1921. He was also a Lecturer in the English Department since 1923. Mr. Mookerjee was highly respected for his great learning and accurate scholarship. As a student at Oxford he took a degree in Classics, obtaining a number of coveted distinctions. Mr. Mookerjee was also a very good Sanskrit scholar.

We offer our sincere condolences to the members of his bereaved family.

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XXVII. The Late Shamsul-Ulema Maulana Hidayet Hussain

Shamual-Ulema Maulana Hidayet Hussain, Lecturer in Arabic and Persian in the Post-Graduate Department of our University, died of heart failure on the 27th November, 1941. The Maulana had

worked as Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of the University from 1926 to 1934. He was re-appointed in November, 1941, a week before his unexpected death. A great Arabic scholar, he enjoyed considerable popularity with the students and teachers of the University.

We offer our condolences to his bereaved family.

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XXVIII. The Late Dr. D. N. Mallik

Dr. D. N. Mallik, M.A., Sc.D. (Paris), who was associated with our University for some years as Fellow and Syndic, died recently, following his retirement from the Rangpur Carmichael College where he held the post of its Principal. Dr. Mallik had rendered distinguished services to the cause of education in Bengal. He was also for a time Director of Public Instruction, Kashmir.

We offer our condolences to the members of his bereaved family.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/C 8vo pp. 364+xviii.

Adam's Reports on Education, 1835-38, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D. (Lond.). D/Demy 16mo pp. 578+lxvii. Rs. 5-0.

Philosophical Essays, by Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab), D.Litt. (Rome). Royal 8vo pp. 398.

The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 460+xvi.

Public Health and Social Service (*Basanta Lectures*), by Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H. Demy 8vo pp. 66.

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119+ix. Re. 1-8.

Dakshinatya, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterji. D/F'Cap. 8vo pp. 174. Re. 1-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures,* 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204+x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Demy 8vo pp. 113+9. Re. 1.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 373+4. Rs. 1-12.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sengupta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 98+13. Re. 1-0.

Buddhi-o-Bodhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78. As. 8.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1-0.

Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 668. Re. 1-0.

Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 426. Rs. 2-0.

Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh. Demy 8vo pp. 262. Rs. 3-0.

Sarirakamimansa Bhasyavartika, Part I (Asutosh Sanskrit Series, No. I), edited by Vedantavisarad MM. Anantakrishna Sastri and Pandit Ashokanath Bhattacharyya, Vedantatirtha, Sastri, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 443+lxxviii. Rs. 5-0.

Krishnakanter Uil, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. D/Demy 16mo pp. 240. Re. 1-0.

Nyayamanjari, Part II, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo pp. 204. Rs. 2-0.

Din-i-Ilahi, by Mr. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. Demy 8vo pp. 480. Rs. 3-0.

Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A. D/Demy 16mo pp. 222+x. Rs. 7-8.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS

DECEMBER, 1941

1. Girischandra: His Mind and Art, by Mr. Mahendranath Dutt.
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Kritikar Memorial Volume, No. 1, edited by Dr. S. R. Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. University Calendar, Part I, 1942.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1940.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. Khawja Hasan of Delhi, by Mr. S. K. Rahman, M.A.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan, edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.
19. Prohibitions in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.

21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar.
22. Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.
26. An Administrative Study of the Development of Civil Service, by Dr. A. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Finite Geometrical Systems, by Prof. F. W. Levi, Dr.Phil.Nat.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. An Analytical Survey of Bengal Regulations, by Rai Bahadur M. N. Gupta, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institution (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. P. C. Basu, M.A.
34. Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, by Mr. Atindranath Bose, M.A.
35. On the Method of Teaching Bengali as a Mother Tongue, by Srimati Kalyani Sen, M.A., B.T.
36. Bangla Abhidhan Granther Parichay, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Training in Leadership and Citizenship for Young India, by Mr. S. C. Ray, M.A. (Lond.), I.E.S.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Brief Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, II and III, edited by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.

45. Raisekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Narayana Pariprecha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Lectures on Fuels and Furnaces (*Extension Lectures*), by Dr. A. K. Saha, D.Sc.
52. Madhyayuger Bharatiya Samaj, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
53. Ganiter Bhitti, by Dr. Jyotirmay Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D.
54. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineschandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. University Question Papers, 1938, 1939 and 1940.
58. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement, 1938 and 1939.
59. Sakta Padavali, by Mr. Amarendranath Ray.
60. Sree-Bhaktisandarbha, edited by Pandit Radharaman Goswami, Vedantabhushan and Pandit Krishnagopal Goswami, Sastri, Smriti-Mimansatirtha, M.A.
61. Magadha: Past and Present, by Mr. Srischandra Chatterjee.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

IV HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

1. ANCIENT INDIA

Political History of Ancient India (*From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*), by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. *Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Royal 8vo pp. xxii+ 582, with maps and charts. Rs. 7-8.*

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety of judgment and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to sketch the political history of India including the pre-Buddhistic period from about the ninth century B.C., and the work is one of great importance to students of Indian history. The revised edition embodies the results of the most recent researches in the subject. An interesting feature of this work is the insertion in certain chapters of introductory verses from literature to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed.

Professor W. Geiger, Munchen (Germany): "I highly appreciate Mr. Raychaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we are now enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian Chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C."

Professor Hultzsch, Halle (Germany): "The Political History of Ancient India is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on the darkest and most debated periods of Indian history."

Prof. J. Jolly, Würzburg (Germany): "……What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography not less than the ancient history of India has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archæology and Chronology. ……"

Prof. F. Otto Schrader (Germany): "I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians....."

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh): "The work may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (London): "The author.....preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories."

Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. xvi+212. Rs. 2-8.*

This little volume is, in the main, a collection of essays, which is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of the epics and the geographical cantos of the *Puranas*. The dissertations on the epics have won the approbation of scholars like Washburn Hopkins, Winternitz and Jacobi, the last of whom congratulated the author on the verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. In the geographical sections the author discusses the vexed problems of Indo-Aryan migration and expansion and the location of Vanga and examines critically the Puranic conception of the world and the theories regarding the island continents, group-mountains, etc., adumbrated in the *Bhuvana-Kosha*. There are also some interesting notes on the history and chronology of Bhoja of Kanauj and the Senas of Bengal.

Prof. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge): ".....Dr. Raychaudhuri's essays on Indian History and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive."

Prof. E. J. Thomas (J.R.A.S.): "The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well-known.....He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results."

Professor H. Jacobi (Germany): "The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar Inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated."

Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System, by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. *Royal 8vo pp. xvi+313. Rs. 5-8.*

This work gives for the first time a comprehensive account of the origin and development of the Ancient Indian Revenue system. It is based on exhaustive and critical study of the relevant data culled from the technical literature, from foreign evidence and from epigraphic and other sources relating to the history of Northern India from c. 300 B.C. to 1200 A.D. The

author has endeavoured to arrange his facts as far as possible in their historical sequence. Copious use has been made of the references in the general Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature. Besides tackling the difficult problem of interpreting sundry obscure texts and observations of foreign travellers, the author has sought to discover the precise meanings of a large array of technical terms. A survey like the present is indispensable not only for forming a balanced estimate of Ancient Indian Civilisation on its material plane but also for tracing many institutions of mediaeval and even of modern India to their roots in the past.

Prof. E. J. Rapson : "It is a valuable contribution to the Economic History of Ancient and Mediæval India.....The widely scattered evidence contained in the inscriptions and in copper-plate land-grants of Northern India has never before been so carefully collected and discussed."

Prof. A. B. Keith :—"It is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject by reason of its objectivity and the effort made to elucidate the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra by examination of the other evidence, in special that of inscriptions bearing on the topic. On the points examined the comparison of different records often throws admirable light."

Prof. M. Winternitz :—"This is a very important work on an interesting subject that to my knowledge has hitherto not yet been treated at all, and certainly not so fully and in such a scholarly manner. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Ancient Indian politics and economics."

Prof. Sylvain Lévi :—"I wish to express my very high appreciation of this work.....I know of very few books lately published which can in my opinion, compare with it."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in a notice of the book in the "*Modern Review*" writes :—"The author who is a practised writer on Hindu polity and administration has carried our knowledge of the subject a good deal forward by concentrating light from the inscriptions by means of painstaking synthesis, while his knowledge of French and German has enabled him to utilize the latest published researches of European Orientalists. His 'Glossary of fiscal terms' will be particularly helpful not only to students of Ancient Indian polity, but also to epigraphists and Sanskritists in general.....The author's wide outlook and far-ranging comparisons will demand careful consideration of his theories on the part of his critics, even when they differ from him."

Dr. E. J. Thomas :—"I much admire the mastery with which the author has treated the great mass of his material and the sobriety and insight with which he has treated the subject."

The Times Literary Supplement :—"The Hindu revenue system, on the history of which Professor Ghoshal speaks with high authority, is to be reckoned as one of the political achievements of the human race..... The chief authorities are the Smritis, the Leviticus of Hindu scripture, and the famous Arthaśāstra, or Book of Government, by Kauṭilya, a Western Indian of about the third century A.D. The rules and maxims of these authorities, says Professor Ghoshal, 'surpass the achievements of classical antiquity and tend to approach the ideas of European thinkers in the 18th and early 19th centuries.' This estimate seems fully warranted."

Dr. L. D. Barnett in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :—"His treatment is scholarly and judicious and he has thrown much light on the obscure problems of ancient Indian revenue-administration.....I heartily agree on essentials with him."

American Economic Review :—" This is an important and scholarly contribution to the history of public finance in India."

Dr. Wilhelm Geiger in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* :—" I have read both works (*Hindu Revenue System and Agrarian System*) with the greatest interest and I am sure to receive the assent of all my colleagues if I thank the author for his excellent work. The performance is clear and rests upon a thorough knowledge of politico economic subjects and abundant use of literature. The author is very discreet in his judgment and in his inferences. . . . I would specially refer to the chapter *Summary and Conclusion in the Contributions* (p. 271 ff.), where the ruling tendencies in the development of the Indian finances are clearly set forth and are also related to the analogies in the economic life of other people of later times. Very praiseworthy is also the *Glossary of Fiscal terms* annexed to the *Contributions*. In my opinion, not only we Indianists, but also the Political Economists who pay attention to history and its teachings, will derive plentiful advantage from the study of Ghoshal's writings." (Translated).

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). Rs. 7-0.*

One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a scholar who is well posted in the latest works on this subject.

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